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Yugolav Macedonian Language Policy Criticized

AU181905 Tirana DRITA in Albanian
10 Jan 88 p 14-15

[Skender Osumi article: "Macedonian Chauvinists Against Albanian Language Schools"]

[Excerpts] Reports in the Macedonian press, and the Yugoslav press in general, show that those dark chauvinist forces who could hardly wait for the campaign against so-called "greater Albanian separatism and nationalism," which has erupted in Yugoslavia to repress the entire Albanian population by force and to deprive them of the national rights they have gained through struggle and countless sacrifices, are increasingly gaining the upper hand.

The campaign to denationalize and assimilate the Albanian population has intensified in the Republic of Macedonia. Under the pretext of purging the state apparatus and social organizations of "nationalist" elements, Albanian employees are being removed from various positions, to be replaced by Macedonians. In its issue of 25 October, the paper FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT, which although published in Skopje in Albanian, is merely a version of NOVA MAKEDONIJA, reports that the decision by Vase Speseski, president of the Tetovo LC Communal Committee, demanded the dismissal of a further 100 Albanian officials from the state administration and their subjection to so-called "ideopolitical differentiation." According to reports in the same paper on 18 November, Nexhat Idrizi was dismissed from his post as president of the Tetovo LC Communal Committee, as well as seven other Albanian members of the same committee. Nexhat Idrizi, a "nationalist and irredentist," is held responsible because 20 years ago, as head teacher of the "Liria" school in Tetovo, he issued certificates to Albanian pupils in the Albanian language, and because he gave the name of the Albanian national hero Scanderbeg to the Albanian elementary school in the village of Poroj.

FLAKA E VELLAZERIMIT on 30 October writes of the measures taken by the Republican Secretariat for People's Defense against 34 Albanian officers in the commune of Tetovo, most of whom were discharged from the Army for attending weddings at which Albanian songs were sung, which in Macedonia are considered "nationalist." The "Xheladin Zeqiri" amateur cultural club in Tetovo, the "Besa" club in Gostivar, and the "Shkendia" sports club have been disbanded, merely because they were Albanian, and preserved and spread the traditions of the Albanians in popular music and song, which have reflected Albanian spiritual life, in all its joys and sorrows. For the Macedonian chauvinists every Albanian song is a symptom of "greater Albanian nationalism and irredentism," even when it is devoted to such heroes of the National Liberation War in Yugoslavia as Ibe Palikuc, Tefik Canga, etc. Not only have the members of these clubs been subjected to "ideopolitical differentiation," but, according to the Macedonian press, 3,000 Albanians have been punished for taking part in weddings where Albanian songs were sung, or in the funerals of those who in Macedonia are considered "nationalists."

The principle of bilingualism is under attack in Macedonia, as is the right to use the Albanian language alongside Macedonian in the state administration and other institutions in the communes populated by Albanians, such as Tetovo, Debar, Gostivar, Kicevo, Struga, Kumanovo, the five communes of the city of Skopje, etc. Despite the fact that these communes are largely inhabited by Albanians, they have been declared regions, according to the Macedonian press, in which the use of the Albanian language in all state institutions and social organizations has been banned by special "legal" measures.

All this has been accompanied by a range of measures aimed at abolishing schools and Albanian tracking in schools in communes inhabited by Albanians. In the fall of last year, through the creation of "mixed classes" of Albanian and Macedonian pupils, thousands of Albanian pupils were deprived of the right to education in their mother tongue and were forcibly compelled to pursue their education in Macedonian. Albanian secondary schools were abolished in this way in the communes of Tetovo, Gostivar, Struga, and Kicevo, in which the majority of the population is Albanian, in the commune of Kumanovo, and in some communes of Skopje where there is an Albanian population. [passage omitted]

The measures taken in Macedonia against the right to use the Albanian language in schools and in the administration, and against Albanian culture in general, have aroused discontent not only among pupils, teachers, and the Albanian population in Macedonia, but also among Albanians in Kosovo, who consider these measures as directed against the entire Albanian people. In a letter sent to the editors of NOVA MAKEDONIJA last October, a number of distinguished working people in culture and science, including Ali Podrimja, Gani Bobi, Zejnulla Rahmani, and Shkelzen Maliqi, considered the formation of mixed classes in Macedonia as a measure leading to the closure of schools and classes in Albanian, and as discrimination against education in Albanian. The Kosovo intellectuals considered such acts as depriving Albanians of their constitutionally guaranteed right to education in their mother tongue. As usual, NOVA MAKEDONIJA called these views "acts of paternalism" on the part of the Albanian intelligentsia in Kosovo, and even "hostile acts."

As RILINDJA points out, the meeting of the Kosovo LC Provincial Committee Commission for Education, Science, and Culture, held on 19 November, considered the formation of mixed classes as a breach of the principles of bilingualism and of the equality of the Albanian and Macedonian languages in areas with an Albanian population, and as a measure leading to the imposition of the hegemony of the Macedonian people in culture and

education. The right to bilingualism is entirely legitimate, and has nothing to do with so-called "Albanian nationalism and separatism" which has been dreamed up by the Macedonian chauvinists. Progressive opinion cannot agree with those media, and those Macedonian state bodies, who consider the right to education in one's mother tongue as a "nationalist" or "separatist" demand.

The reasons offered in Macedonia for the abolition of Albanian-language education, such as the shortage of Albanian teachers in Gostivar, Tetovo, Kumanovo, Kicevo, and other areas, are quite inadmissable. Such assertions are made by the Macedonian state authorities at a time when there is not a single Albanian language faculty at Skopje University, and when teaching in Albanian has been abolished at the Skopje Teacher Training Academy, the only college which has trained teachers for Albanian schools. They have forced Albanian students to study in Macedonian. Under such conditions, not merely Albanian students, but schoolchildren from Macedonia too, are enrolling at the University of Kosovo and the secondary schools of the province in order to be able to pursue their education in their mother tongue. According to reports in the Kosovo press, about 200 pupils from Macedonia have enrolled at Pristina secondary schools alone, with a total of more than 360 in the province. These pupils, faced with pressure on the part of the Macedonian authorities, stress that education in their mother tongue is a right guaranteed to them by the Constitution.

The paper BOTA E RE, also published in Pristina, wrote on 1 November that "Those in positions of responsibility in the SR of Macedonia, with their demand for mixed classes, are attempting to impose Macedonian as the language of instruction, and to abolish instruction in Albanian. A truly vicious idea." The anti-Albanian policies being pursued in Macedonia will miscarry today, as they have in the past, when faced with the Albanian population's ardent love of their language and national culture, and their determination not to allow backward chauvinist forces to deprive them of their legitimate rights, deny their national identity, and assimilate them.

Kapllani Meets With Greek Officials in Athens

AU191228 Tirana ATA in English
0740 GMT 19 Jan 88

[Text] Tirana, January 19 (ATA)—The vice minister of foreign affairs of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, Muhamet Kapllani, left for Athens on January 18, to exchange opinions with officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Greece, concerning the preparations for the meeting of the ministers of foreign affairs of the Balkan states, which will be held in Belgrade on February 24-26 of the current year.

On January 18, he held talks with the secretary general of the Foreign Ministry of Greece, Kostas Yeoryiou. Likewise, he was received by the minister of foreign affairs of Greece, Karolos Papoulias. During the meeting they had a cordial and friendly talk.

Former Greek Premier Rallis Visits Albania

AU142000 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Yeoryios Rallis, deputy in the Greek Parliament and former prime minister and minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Greece, visited Albania recently. During his stay he visited economic centers and museums in the districts of Sarande and Lezhe. He also visited the National History Museum and the "Albania Today" exhibition. He also visited the National Liberation Museum and the Secondary Pedagogical School in the city of Gjirokaster, and the 8-year school in the village of Vrisera, in Gjirokaster District.

Deputy Yeoryios Rallis has left our country.

Alia Receives FRG Ambassador Kroneck

AU151948 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, today received Friedrich Kroneck, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the FRG to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his credentials.

The ceremony was attended by Reis Malile, foreign minister; Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, and Andon Berxholli, department chief at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Alia Receives Italian Envoy 14 Jan

AU142001 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Giorgio de Andrei, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Italy to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his credentials.

The ceremony was attended by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; and Pirro Bita, department chief at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Alia Receives Mexican Envoy 14 Jan

AU142002 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, today received Henrique Gonzales Casanova, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the United States of Mexico to the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, who presented his credentials.

The ceremony was attended by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Sihat Tozaj, secretary of the Presidium of the People's Assembly; and Andon Berxholli, department chief at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Youth Group Departs for Dominican Republic

AU171352 Tirana ATA in English
0915 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] Tirana, January 17 (ATA)—At the invitation of the "Flavio Suero" Youth Organization of the Dominican Republic and of the Autonomous University of Santo Domingo, a delegation of the Central Committee of the LYUA [Albanian Union of Working Youth] headed by the secretary of this committee, Lulzim Shkreta, left on a friendly visit to the Dominican Republic.

Leaders' Public Appearances 10-16 January

AU162010 [Editorial Report] Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian in its broadcasts from 10-16 January reports the following public appearances of Albanian leaders (time and date of broadcast in parentheses):

Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and chairman of Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania received on 14 January the ambassadors of the United States of Mexico and of the Italian Republic. On 15 January he received the FRG ambassador. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 14 and 15 January)

Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary; Manush Myftiu, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; and Pirro Kondi, AWP Central Committee Politburo candidate member, attended on 16 January a meeting of youths who have distinguished themselves in the national action for the cultivation of olive groves, helt at the Tirana Higher Agricultural Institute. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 16 January.)

Besnik Bekteshi, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers attended on 16 January a national aktiv held in the city of Durres to review the progress made during 1987 in the national action for the construction of rural aqueducts. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 16 January)

Foto Cami, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and secretary, attended on 13 January the inauguration of an rural aqueduct in Kruje District. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 13 January)

Muho Asllani, AWP Central Committee Politburo member and Shkoder District AWP Committee first secretary attended on 10 January a meeting held in the city of Shkoder to commemorate the 42d anniversary of the founding of the Republic. (Tirana Domestic Albanian 1900 GMT 10 January)

USSR Delegation Visits, Holds Talks

Received by Zhivkov

AU152019 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Comrade Todor Zhivkov received in Sofia's Boyana residence Yuriy Maslyukov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

They discussed questions regarding the present and future state of cooperation in several priority sectors of machine building and electronics industry. Satisfaction was expressed at the dynamic development of relations between ministries and economic organizations of the two countries, and at the constantly increasing rate of joint production activities. It was pointed out that all necessary prerequisites exist for promoting cooperation to a qualitatively new level. Opportunities for further increasing the exchange of goods in food industry machine building and of technical goods on the market were discussed.

The meeting, which proceeded in a cordial and friendly atmosphere, was attended by Comrades Andrey Lukanov; by Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning; by Boris Belousov, USSR minister of machine building, as well as by Soviet Ambassador Leonid Grekov.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov gave a luncheon in honor of the Soviet guests, which was attended by Comrades Ognyan Doynov and Andrey Lukanov, as well as by Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of economy and planning.

Yuriy Maslyukov was received by Comrade Georgi Atanasov. The Soviet guest expressed his positive evaluation of numerous machine building and electronic plants he visited in our country.

He stressed that successes achieved in this field are solid prerequisites for the further expansion and intensification of Bulgarian-Soviet economic and scientific-technical cooperation.

Specific questions pertaining to the future development of bilateral contacts in the electronic and micro-electronic branches, in automation and mass consumer good production were discussed.

Meets With Doynov, Lukanov

AU151129 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jan 88 p 6

[Text] Ognyan Doynov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the "Heavy Machine Building" Association, and Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, had a meeting yesterday with Yuriy Maslyukov, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, who is on a visit to Bulgaria. They held talks with him on matters concerning the cooperation in different sectors of industry. Special attention was paid to the new forms and future prospects of this cooperation.

Signs Agreements, Departs

AU161922 Sofia BTA in English 1821 GMT 16 Jan 88

"Bulgaria-USSR: Promising Cooperation—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 16 (BTA)—The Soviet delegation headed by Mr Yuriy Maslyukov, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, completed its visit to this country. Today Mr Stoyan Ovcharov, minister of the economy and planning, and Mr Yuriy Maslyukov signed documents on the broadening of the bilateral contacts. They expressed satisfaction over the fruitful joint work, assessing it as the latest important step toward the further development and deepening of the Bulgaro-Soviet economic and techno-scientific cooperation. The documents outline the prospects of this cooperation till 1995. Priorities will be given to the contacts in electronics and mechanical engineering, and the production and exchange of technical consumer goods will be increased. In the field of mechanical engineering, the production of machines and technological lines for the food and textile industry, automotive industry will receive additional acceleration. The two sides will continue their cooperation and joint work in the sphere of biotechnologies and chemical industry. Bulgaro-Soviet enterprises will be established for the development and realization of technical projects. A new stage will be marked in the consumer industry, thanks to the cooperated production of electronic products for light industry and of electric appliances, and the additional deliveries of machines, as well as consumer goods.

'Commentary' on Gorbachev Meeting with Media

AU151407 Sofia OTECHESTVEN FRONT in Bulgarian 14 Jan 88 p 1

[Editorial commentary: "Loyalty to the Policy of Restructuring"]

[Text] At the time of active work on restructuring all areas of Soviet society, of democratization and radical economic reform, of glasnost, criticism, and self-criticism, the dialogue between the party and its leading headquarters on one side, and the communists and all strata of the Soviet population on the other, becomes a matter of importance. At the fateful time when the concept of restructuring must come into the widest contact with real life and the activities of millions of people, the exchange of opinions and ideas and comradely discussion is more than necessary and essential. This is especially true because a useful tradition has been created of regular meetings of the media and the creative unions with the party leadership as a part of this dialogue, in the cause of further accelerating the Soviet

Union's socioeconomic development and activating socialism's vast creative potential. The latest regular meeting of this kind held in the CPSU Central Committee, at which Mikhail Gorbachev delivered a long speech, is further proof of the topicality and necessity of such a dialogue.

Restructuring is now leaving one stage and entering another. Qualitative changes are taking place in the tasks of restructuring, and especially in the scale of its effects. The center of gravity in the work of the party and the Soviet organs, the communists, and the entire nation is shifting onto the plane of practical action, of applying the philosophy of restructuring in real life.

In this qualitatively new situation, particular importance is acquired by the great theoretical, political, and practical work completed last year in connection with the celebration of the 70th anniversary of Great October. The deepening of knowledge, the drawing of lessons from the past and, on this basis, the working out of prospects for further advance form distinguishing features of everything that the CPSU is now carrying out. On the other hand, the marked progress in developing the theory and policy of restructuring gives it purpose and awareness. This, Mikhail Gorbachev stressed, enables consistent action to be taken on the basis of the adopted decisions, on the basis of scientific analysis, and of broad discussion both within the party and in the whole of society, in order to move on to the next stage of restructuring.

Now the stage has been reached at which the people make a decisive entry into the arena's center. In the new ideological and political atmosphere, characterized by broad publicity, criticism, and self-criticism, the deepening process of democratization and the working people's growing sense of responsibility for the country's fate, under these conditions the growing support of the people's masses for the party's course is a quite logical corollary. However, in the years following the April Plenum of the CPSU Central Committee and the 27th CPSU Congress, life has convincingly demonstrated that no transformations are possible without a political vanguard capable of ideologically rallying in an organized manner the country's best forces, of making sense of the processes under way in society, of formulating specific means, and of achieving practical results. The Soviet people possess such a vanguard in the CPSU and its leading Leninist headquarters.

In the conditions of renewal, when democratization as the essence of socialism is creating preconditions for expanding socialism's constructive powers even further, the role of the mass media also sharply increases in importance. Lenin's idea that literature is a general cause of the party sounds even more topical today, under the new conditions. To serve the cause of socialism, the cause of their own people, the cause of peace in the world—this is the great duty and responsibility of the workers of the microphone, camera, and pen, of all who stir millions by their creative work.

Poland's Jaruzelski Receives Departing Envoy

AU161922 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 16 Jan 88

[Text] Comrade Wojciech Jaruzelski received Ivan Prumov, the Bulgarian ambassador in Warsaw, in connection with his final departure from Poland. During the conversation they reviewed the development of bilateral relations and the prospects for further deepening them in all fields. Wojciech Jaruzelski highly assessed the cooperation and its results in the political, economic, and cultural fields, in which a substantial advance has been marked, especially in recent years.

Cooperation Protocol Signed With Libya

AU161601 Sofia BTA in English 1423 GMT 16 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 16 (BTA)—The protocol on the 17th session of the Bulgaro-Libyan Committee for Economic and Techno-Scientific Cooperation, signed here today, envisages enrichment of the economic relations and development of the modern forms of cooperation. Joint enterprises will be established. Bulgarian engineering organizations will study the possibilities for the construction of projects in Libya. Bulgaria will render techno-scientific assistance to Libya in the sphere of metallurgy, metal processing, and chemical and food industry. The two sides will continue their traditional cooperation in poultry raising, the contacts in agriculture are also widening. Bulgaria will take part in the construction of irrigation systems. The barter includes also machines, electronics, food and consumer goods. Agreement was reached for continuation of the petroleum deliveries from Libya to Bulgaria. Measures have been undertaken for the improvement of the financial and credit relations between the two countries. Scientific contacts will also be broadened. The protocol on the session was signed by Mr Khristo Khristov, minister of foreign economic relations, and by Mr Ahmad Fathi ibn Shatwan, secretary of the General People's Committee for Industry.

Tanchev Receives Algerian Farmers Union Group

AU161602 Sofia BTA in English 2019 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—Mr Petur Tanchev, secretary of the Bulgarian Agrarian Party and first deputy chairman of the State Council, received yesterday a delegation of the National Union of Algerian Farmers headed by its secretary general, Mr Abdelbaqui Bendaoud.

Mr Petur Tanchev briefed his guests on the successes in Bulgaria's socioeconomic development and the restructuring in all fields of life in Bulgaria.

The participants in the talks exchanged views on the further broadening of the ties between the two organizations. The guests assessed highly the consistent and peace-loving policy of Bulgaria.

The two sides to the talks agreed on the enormous significance of the Soviet-American treaty which eliminated the intermediate- and shorter-range missiles.

Aleksandrov Meets With Syrian TU Delegation

AU151119 Sofia BTA in English
0733 GMT 15 Jan 88

["At the CC of the BCP"—BTA headline]

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, received Mr 'Izz al-Din Nasir, member of the regional leadership of the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party and chairman of the General Federation of Labour Unions of Syria, who is paying a visit here at the invitation of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

The guest was informed of the essence and the principal trends of the profound reconstruction under way in all spheres of social life in Bulgaria under the leadership of the BCP.

The two sides noted the positive changes in the international situation after the signing of the Soviet-American treaty on banning intermediate- and shorter-range missiles as a first step towards consolidating peace and mutual trust and the building of a world free of nuclear weapons.

Special attention was paid to the situation in the Middle East and the solidarity of the two parties and peoples with the struggle of the Palestinian people for self-determination was stressed. The two sides condemned the terrorist measures and repressions of the Israeli occupational authorities against the Arab population in the occupied West Bank of the River Jordan and the Gaza Strip.

The two sides expressed satisfaction over the state and level of all-round Bulgaro-Syrian cooperation developing in the spirit of the agreements reached between Mr Todor Zhivkov and Mr Hafiz al-Asad. They stressed the mutual resolution for the relations between the BCP and the Ba'th Arab Socialist Party, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Syrian Arab Republic to develop and broaden in the interest of the two peoples and of peace and social progress.

The meeting was also attended by Mr Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

Stanishev Receives Syrian Party Official

AU151911 Sofia BTA in English
1648 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, received Mr Ibrahim Bakri, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Syria. The two sides paid special attention to the situation in the Middle East. It was stressed that the only way to the establishment of just and durable peace in the region passes through the convening of an international conference under the aegis of the U.N. with the participation of all sides concerned, the PLO included. Satisfaction was expressed at the meeting over the development and strengthening of the relations of solidarity and cooperation between the communists from the two countries based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. The Syrian side expressed gratitude for the principled support rendered by the BCP and personally by Mr Todor Zhivkov for the restoration of the unity of the Communist Party of Syria.

Report on Visit of Iraqi Parliamentarians

AU151933 Sofia BTA in English
1746 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 15 (BTA)—The visit of the Iraqi parliamentary delegation headed by Mr Sa'dun Hammadi, chairman of the National Assembly, ended today. The parliamentarists were acquainted with the restructuring processes underway in this country and with the structure and activity of the Bulgarian Parliament. They were interested in the new moments in the development of this country's economy and agriculture. The Iraqi delegation had meetings with a delegation of Bulgaria's National Assembly and with Mr Andrey Lukanov, minister of foreign economic relations. The guests visited industrial enterprises and agricultural projects. They expressed satisfaction over the opportunity to exchange opinions with Mr Petur Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, on a number of questions of the bilateral cooperation. During their meeting with State Council President Mr Todor Zhivkov the guests stressed that they assess highly everything which had been achieved in the development of the bilateral relations.

Stanishev Receives Visiting PDRY Official

AU181919 Sofia BTA in English
1809 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 18 (BTA)—Today Mr Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the CC of the BCP, received Mr Rashid Muhammad Thabit, member of the Central Committee of the Yemeni Socialist Party, who is visiting here.

The two sides expressed their satisfaction over the level of the all-round relations between the two parties and states developing on the sound basis of the treaty for

friendship and cooperation of 1981 and stressed the great prospects for their further promotion in the spirit of the ideas of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism.

Justice Minister Daskalova Visits Laos

AU151923 Sofia BTA in English
1849 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Hanoi, January 15 (BTA Corr)—Bulgaria's Minister of Justice Svetla Daskalova was on a three day visit to Laos.

In her talks with her Laotian counterpart, Mr Kou Souvanamethi, she exchanged information on the work of the two ministries, the legislature and the work of the prosecutors' offices of Bulgaria and Laos. The two ministers discussed the ways for broadening the bilateral cooperation in the field of justice.

Ms Svetla Daskalova was received by Mr Phoumi Vongvichit, member of the Politburo of the CC of the Lao People's Revolutionary Party and acting president of Laos. He assessed highly the cooperation between Laos and Bulgaria and expressed the conviction that it should continue to develop to the benefit of both countries.

Colombian Foreign Minister Plans Visit

AU181638 Sofia BTA in English
1545 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Sofia, January 18 (BTA)—At the invitation of Mr Peter Mladenov, minister of foreign affairs, Mr Julio Londono Paredes, minister of foreign affairs of the Republic of Colombia, will pay an official visit of friendship to Bulgaria at the end of January this year.

Bank Chairmen Interviewed on Reform

AU191048 Sofia BTA in English
0828 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text]Sofia, January 18 (BTA)—More and more enterprises, when in need of credits, turn to the recently founded agrarian and cooperative bank in the city of Plovdiv.

The bank presents a joint-stock company and any self-managed economic organization can be its member: from agriculture, forestry, food industry, as well as from other branches of industry. This bank is one of the eight trade banks established in Bulgaria in accordance with the serious reform of the banking system underway in this country.

"Regardless of certain difficulties the practice shows that the party and state resolutions for the restructuring of the banking system have been correct and timely, open great prospects for the future," says in an interview for the POGLED weekly Mr Vasil Kolarov, chairman of the Bulgarian National Bank. He informs that the trade banks have accumulated and deposited at the Bulgarian National Bank the capital necessary for their registering and they have started to operate since October 1987.

"Till November 30, 1987, the members amounted to 254, but I think that the information about our capacities to credit the investment processes have still not reached to the workteams working in agriculture and forestry," says Mr Yanko Musurliev, chairman of the Agrarian and Cooperative Bank in an interview for RABOTNICHESKO DELO.

He points out that the bank provides credits, in national and foreign currency, for economic initiatives, for reconstruction and updating, for techno-scientific progress and transfer of technologies, for raising of the quality and lessening the prime cost of production, and finally for consolidation of the self-managing organizations' self-sufficiency.

"We are a useful partner. We do not impose ready made solutions and we don't interfere in the work of the economic organizations," says Mr Musurliev. "We try to undertake a reasonable risk. The criteria for "reasonable" is the term of recovering of the capital."

The president of the Agrarian and Cooperative Bank says that currently several enterprises of the food industry are competing for receiving bank loans. The bank provides credits to both high and low efficiency producers. The general principle is for similar enterprises to compete with each other for loans.

The Agrarian and Cooperative Bank in Plovdiv has already established contacts with banks in Switzerland, the Netherlands, Sweden and Belgium.

The new Bulgarian trade banks have been given a ceiling, approved by the board of directors of the Bulgarian National Bank, to which they may increase the country's foreign debt to nonsocialist countries. Every bank is allowed to give credits in currency until it reaches this ceiling.

"The Bulgarian National Bank should impose ceilings in order to control the decrease or increase of the country's foreign debt. The trade bank will not refuse a currency loan to a company if the money is to be spent on highly efficient initiatives. The problem is that we are still receiving very few such requests," states Mr Vasil Kolarov.

Drug Smugglers Caught By Customs Authorities

AU181605 Sofia BTA in English
1307 GMT 18 Jan 88

Sofia, January 18 (BTA—Bulgarian customs officials recently intercepted three consignments amounting to 36 Kg and 400 G of a strong narcotic, which foreign nationals tried to smuggle through Bulgaria on their way to Western Europe.

Behind the seats of a "Volkswagen" owned by the Turkish citizen Mustafa Yalmiz there were discovered 20 Kg of drugs.

A Mercedes car driven by Osman Peker, a native of Turkey, had a special hiding place with 9 Kg of drugs in it.

In the front and back bumper rods of a "Saab" driven by the Dutch national Wilfred Akhong (born in Surinam) there were hidden 7 Kg and 400 G of drugs.

The smugglers who were intercepted at the "Kapitan Andreevo" border check point on entering Bulgaria from Turkey were turned over to the Bulgarian investigating authorities.

Leaders' Appearances Reported

AU162051 [Editorial Report] Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian inits newcasts, the Sofia press, and BTA during the 10-16 January monitoring period report the following public appearances of Bulgarian leaders (sourceline of each report given in parentheses):

Yordan Yotov, Stanko Todorov, Georgiy Yordanov, Nacho Papazov, and Stoyan Mikhaylov attended the funeral at the Central Sofia Cemetery on 11 January of Venko Markovski, people's deputy, veteran communist, poet, and publicist (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Jan 88 p 6).

Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, received a visiting Iraqi parliamentary delegation in Sofia on 13 January (Sofia BTA in English 1744 GMT 13 Jan 88). He attended and spoke at the Sofia City BCP organization accountability-election conference on 14 January (Sofia BTA in English 1741 GMT 14 Jan 88). In Sofia on 15 January he received USSR Deputy Premier Yuriy Maslyukov (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1000 GMT 15 Jan 88) and gave a luncheon in his honor (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 15 Jan 88). Georgi Atanasov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Council of Ministers, received the visiting Libyan secretary for industry, Ahmad Fathi Ibn Shatwan, in Sofia on 14 January (Sofia BTA in English 1647 GMT 14 Jan 88). In Sofia on 15 January he received Soviet Deputy Premier Maslyukov (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 15 Jan 88).

Chudomir Aleksandrov, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, met with a visiting Syrian trade union delegation in Sofia on 15 January (Sofia BTA in English 0733 GMT 15 Jan 88).

Milko Balev, Politburo member and secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received the visiting Peruvian party delegation in Sofia on 10 January (Sofia BTA in English 1702 GMT 10 Jan 88).

Ognyan Doynov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, met with the USSR's Yuriy Maslyukov in Sofia on 13 January (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jan 88 p 6).

Petur Mladenov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign affairs, saw off the departing Greek foreign minister, Papoulias, from Sofia Airport on 10 January (Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2030 GMT 10 Jan 88). He received a visiting Iraqi parliamentary delegation in Sofia on 12 January (Sofia BTA in English 1726 GMT 12 Jan 88).

Stanko Todorov, member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the National Assembly, met a delegation from the Iraqi National Assembly on its arrival at Sofia Airport on 11 January (Sofi Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1600 GMT 11 Jan 88) and started talks with them in Sofia on the same day (Sofia BTA in English 1930 GMT 11 Jan 88).

Petur Dyulgerov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo, chairman of the Central Council of Bulgarian Trade Unions, received a visiting Syrian trade union delegation in Sofia on 10 January (Sofia BTA in English 1754 GMT 10 Jan 88). He chaired a joint session of the Commission for Defense of Social Interests and Citizen's Rights and the Legislative Commission held in Sofia on 11 January that considered a report by Nacho Papazov on the implementation of the Law on Citizen's Proposals, Warning Reports, Complaints, and Appeals (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 12 Jan 88 p 6). In Sofia on 14 January he signed a cooperation agreement with the above-mentioned Syrian trade union delegation (Sofia BTA in English 1837 GMT 14 Jan 88).

Andrey Lukanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee Politburo and minister of foreign economic relations, received the visiting Iraqi delegation in Sofia on 12 January (Sofia BTA in English 1726 GMT 12 Jan 88). He met with Soviet Deputy Premier Yuriy Maslyukov in Sofia on 13 January (Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 14 Jan 88 p 6).

Georgi Yordanov, candidate member of the BCP Central Committee and minister of culture, science, and education, received in Sofia on 14 January a visiting International Olympic Committee delegation investigating Sofia's candidature for hosting the 1992 winter Olympics (Sofia BTA in English 1845 GMT 14 Jan 88). Dimitur Stanishev, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, received Ibrahim Bakri, member of the Politburo of the Communist Party of Syria, in Sofia on 15 January (Sofia BTA in English 1648 GMT 15 Jan 88).

L'UNITA Interviews Former Premier Dubcek

PM131222 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
10 Jan 88 p 11-14

[Written interview with former Communist Party of Czechoslovakia First Secretary Alexander Dubcek by Renzo Foa]

[Text] [Foa] It is now 20 years since the "Prague Spring." We are in the midst of a controversy centered on a comparison between the ideas and proposals now making headway in the party and society in the Soviet Union and the Czechoslovak "new course" of 1968. What is your assessment of Gorbachev's restructuring?

[Dubcek] Restructuring is both objectively and subjectively indispensable and makes it possible to tackle problems that have come to a head throughout the socialist community. I welcome and support it because I identify in it a far-reaching link with the situation we faced 20 years ago, even taking account of the different times and places. I believe time has been wasted, bearing in mind what could have been done with the "new course" during this period and the advantages that there would have been for our country and for socialism. Thinking back to our own 1968 and how it was born, the current events in the Soviet Union in many ways confirm how exciting and vigorous our own ideas were.

[Foa] You certainly played the leading role in those events of 20 years ago....

[Dubcek] I want to be frank about this, addressing myself primarily to the present, the future. I believe that in so describing me your main intention is to express a comradely attitude toward me. However, the main role at that time, as always, was played by the people, headed by the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia [CPCZ] Central Committee, with a program capable of securing support. It was the Central Committee that chose me: I was one among many. And although it was I, back at the October 1967 Central Committee session, who raised the issue of a new political program—in line with the Leninist concept of the "first party program"—and even though I was elected first secretary immediately afterward, I must point out that the subsequent stages, through the formulation of the "Action Program" of April 1968, were the result of a collective endeavor involving cadres from the party and from all key sectors of society. Yes, we distilled the collective intelligence of those who devoted their work to our revolution.

I do not mean that nothing has been done in Czechoslovakia over the past 20 years. A not inconsiderable amount has been done, as shown by the fruits of our people's mental and physical work. Nevertheless fundamental political, economic, and cultural problems have remained unresolved. At one time ours was one of the world's 10 most advanced countries; now it is near the bottom of the first 20.

[Foa] So what is the relationship between your experience and the current developments in the USSR?

[Dubcek] True, you cannot draw an automatic parallel between Czechoslovakia and the USSR, between our 1968 and the Soviet restructuring. Time has brought new issues to the forefront and has brought about new ways of thinking and acting in both the domestic and the international contexts. The technological and scientific revolution has advanced throughout the world and there is talk of its entering a fourth stage.... I do not regard the evolution that took place within the CPCZ and Czechoslovakia in 1968 as identical with what is happening now within the CPSU and the USSR. That would mean denying specificities, differences, and individual characteristics. Nevertheless time has shown that here and there similarities do occur between fundamental sources of inspiration.

One of these sources is the need to raise socialism and the whole of society to a qualitatively higher level more effectively and comprehensively, consistently with the worldwide technological and scientific revolution.

There is a similarity in the belief that it is essential to rebuild the entire economic management system from the foundations up, thoroughly restructuring the existing mechanism on the basis of an effective relationship between plan and market under the conditions of socialism. There is a similarity in the encouragement given to initiative and in the satisfaction of the pluralistic wishes of mass socialist, cultural, and other organizations active within society. There is a similarity in the need to identify and define rules and practices of everyday social justice within respect for the social and economic interests of individuals, groups, and society as a whole. There is a similarity in the idea of fully democratizing the party and society and of encouraging the working masses' full commitment and of exploiting all the resources and advantages provided by socialism as the most attractive option for the future of civilization.

There is a similarity in the assertion—and I quote from the "Action Program" adopted by the Central Committee on 5 April—that "the foundation for the development of international relations will remain economic cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist states, especially with the CEMA countries" and in the assertion that "a fundamental coordinate of Czechoslovak foreign policy... is the alliance and cooperation with the USSR and the other socialist states. We will actively pursue a policy of peaceful coexistence with the developed capitalist countries."

The "Action Program" itself reveals similarities and parallels.

[Foa] So, how did the demand for the "new course" arise in Czechoslovakia?

[Dubcek] To understand the nature of our movement, some comments on what preceded it are necessary. For years, we had had a socialist Constitution, but there were numerous "jarring notes" in society and its structures which still bore the marks of the consequences of illegalities in the early fifties. I am also thinking of the big "political trials" and the tens of thousands of citizens unjustly sentenced. Before 1968 there had been a period in which there had been numerous distortions and economic stagnation caused by the authoritarian administrative methods used instead of political tools and economic methods. The rising tide of renewal was stifled. It was officially stated that there was even too much democracy; there was a growing split between theory and practice, between slogans and reality, between words and deeds. This analysis ought perhaps to be taken further, but I think that Italian readers and people in Czechoslovakia know what I am talking about.

These phenomena and processes were the background against which a movement for new content, new styles, and new methods of work, to replace the old ones, could and did emerge in the CPCZ. These old methods were based, in particular, on the replacement of state organs by party organs, creating confusion and uniting the top state and party functions in one individual. There was also lack of awareness about national questions (Slovak and Czech), about the youth question, the relationship with culture, traditions....

All these factors, together with the Central Committee meetings held between October and December 1967 heralded what happened. January 1968 was the culmination of all that.

[Foa] What do you think of the most recent statements by the CPCZ's current leadership group about developments in the USSR?

[Dubcek] I am now delighted (as, I think, are many of the Communists who were expelled and the many people who were not party members) that even my country's political leadership has expressed support for restructuring and glasnost. Not only do we want to closely follow their course, but we intend to make whatever contribution we can to their full realization.

However, so far, we have been dealing with words rather than deeds. I regard the proposals on state enterprises as very important. A proposal was drawn up back in 1968, together with principles governing the activities of the Workers' Councils which had then been formed. It is legitimate to demand that, 20 years later, the proposals on the enterprises should be drawn up more thoroughly than those which have now been put forward. The most important thing is to ensure that the people not only feel and see, but notice from actual deeds, that the general atmosphere in the country is beginning to change—an atmosphere which ought to channel all society's creative forces toward new fundamental starting points for a real policy of restructuring. It is time to stop saying that none of what is happening in the USSR and elsewhere should remind our people of the process of rebirth in 1968. This process was introduced by the CPCZ Central Committee on the basis of the collective understanding of our country's key development problems, bearing in mind the experiences of the other socialist countries and of the European countries in general. This line presupposed the removal of the main obstacle: dogmatism. I would simply like to point out that this happened when the Brezhnev leadership started to limit the process of democratization, changing the CPSU's own rules in this direction.

We are now living in a period,the broad outlines of which have been described by Gorbachev on numerous occasions: the value of our revolutionary theory, the experiences of decades of socialist struggles, and a growing effort to change every aspect of human life. These words spoken by Gorbachev seem particularly clear: "Restructuring will not succeed without the development of ideological and democratic processes and without the affirmation of socialist and human values." If the "Action Program" and the other fundamental party and state documents drawn up in those few months were republished, it would be easy to demonstrate the similarity between the starting points, and those documents might also help in adopting measures appropriate to this internal and international situation.

To sum up: The period of time which separates us from 1968, and events in the USSR and the other socialist countries in these 20 years, confirm that socialism can no longer tolerate stereotypes, models, ossification, dogmatism, and sectarianism; they confirm that socialism must be regenerated and rebuilt in harmony with new pressing needs.

I have always been convinced that socialism can and must be a sociopolitical, economic, and cultural system capable of fully understanding and satisfying the needs and interests of the working class and the broadest range of workers and nations. The highest level of humanism, ethics, and morality must be central to it. Socialism, peace, equal rights, and the self-fulfillment of individuals and nations are concepts which have always formed part of my creed. I attach extraordinary universal importance to these values.

You talk about a "new course": Those are the words used by Luigi Longo when he came to Czechoslovakia in 1968.

The original ideas and concepts of Soviet restructuring and the attempts made by the Czechoslovak Communists in 1968 are not identical but are very similar. However, the situations are identical in that the tide of renewal has been held back for 20 years.

This is why I, and comrades who think like me, support Soviet restructuring. I would like to add that it is a sincere, loyal, and united support. This is particularly

true because restructuring has a broader significance, because it influences developments in the socialist community and international relations.

[Foa] Restructuring is taking place in the USSR, but there are difficulties in the other Warsaw Pact countries, irrespective of their different situations, in setting in motion not only a process of renewal but even a critical analysis of the crisis in socialist societies. Why do these difficulties exist there?

[Dubcek] I do not think that this problem affects the Warsaw Pact countries alone. It would be better to talk of the socialist countries in general. The word "crisis" also needs clarification, with regard to its substance, its specific characteristics, and the various forms it takes. In the USSR, for instance, there is talk of overcoming a precrisis state. In Czechoslovakia, unlike Hungary in 1956 and Poland in the early eighties, it was the CPCZ Central Committee which took the lead in renewal, to prevent the eruption of similar crises. In our country, the internal situation was exacerbated later, as a consequence of the well known events which followed 21 August 1968 which introduced, from outside, a correction to the development which had been started.

It is no coincidence that I do not use the terms "West" and "East." If I did so, I would run the risk of confusing political and geographical concepts, which are used to describe the difference between social systems in Europe. Because of its geographical location, its traditions, and its experiences, the CSSR belongs to central Europe. This too was one of the bases of the "new course": The renewal was introduced by peaceful means, with nonviolent support for what was good, and nonviolent opposition to what was bad, with respect for existing international relations.

But, let us turn to the root of your question. I must remind you that the socialist countries have differences which stem from their history. When they started on the road to socialism, each of them started from different economic, political, social, and cultural situations, whereas—as subsequent events show—this was not always taken into account. We Communists regard the ideas of socialism as a reflection of the relations which exist in society, and its demands, and interests. The situation in Czechoslovakia—a country with democratic traditions, although of a classical bourgeois type—was not the same as the situation in countries emerging from dictatorships with different reactionary traits, in which economic development was more backward, the social stratification was different, and the cultural background was different, and so forth.

We need a critical historical view of all this and of basic questions in relations among countries of the socialist type, and this will help us to look at the future more clearly. An initial approach can already be seen, and it stems from numerous Soviet political acts: I am not just thinking of statements on the principles of equal rights, cooperation, and mutual solidarity, because experience has shown that it is vital to observe these principles and respect each country's sovereignty. But, I would like to point out that the importance of every experience, the need for others to respect it, and the enrichment it brings for all, have been constantly stressed since the 27th CPSU Congress and more especially since the drafting of the new CPSU Program.

The history of various socialist countries tells us that economic and political crises are possible in those societies. That was not written in our textbooks. This destroyed the theory and illusion that crises do not affect us, that they are only the result of conflicts in capitalism, and of the capitalist conflict between the forces of production and in production relations. Experience of socialist building confirms, however, that merely taking over the basic means of production does not necessarily mean they have been "socialized," and there must also be social and economic changes and reforms capable of harmonizing the change in production relations with the forces of production. Delaying these changes leads to crises. This is partly because this harmonization is not achieved once and for all, but is a constant process which concerns the whole system and which cannot be impeded.

However, our planning made clear distinctions between values, the law of value operated, but did not "regulate," did not become a rule capable of bringing together social needs and production, the objectives of which did not match the needs of the population and of society. However, the untenable nature of this view had already been discussed at length in the USSR in 1922 and 1923. I think that the root of the economic difficulties was a "failure to understand the content," in other words what work really was in the new socialist conditions in relation to the scope and range of social needs. Undervaluing the importance of commercial and monetary relations and of the market had some influence, but it was only a consequence and not a cause.

There were other mistakes in addition to economic distortions. For instance, the destruction of small cottage and commercial industries and, in the agricultural cooperatives, of small private plots. This practical history contradicts the theory that there is no conflict between social interests and individual interests in socialism. This conflict does exist and it is impossible to simply ignore it.

The causes of the crisis also included distortions of the law and violations of human and civil rights. It was as if we Communists did not know or had forgotten that we ought not to be vain, and that we ought not to change from former critics of the bourgeois past into advocates of anything to which a "socialist label" was attached. Building a new society is much more complicated and difficult than a battle that has been won. However, we often experienced the reverse, we did not understand that there was a lack of democracy in the party, in

society, and in the state, or the need for its autonomous and self-managed development. Why did this happen? And yet, such phenomena are totally contrary to socialist ideals.

In my view, the decisive factor was the establishment of a political climate which eliminated the cornerstone of the party's form, namely internal democracy. This disarmed the party and paralyzed its creativity, which ought to be the basis for its action. Thus formulations are a rehash of old dogmas and axioms, become an apology for the status quo, and do not enrich practical activity or receive enrichment from it. Thus dogmatism and inflexibility flourish and immobility is passed off as stability. Conformism, sectarianism, orders from above, and the mechanical adoption of models are common. This is the way in which an oligarchy governs, and it is a concentration of power; creativity and research become suspect and, in times of controversy, are seen as opportunism and revisionism.

The age in which we are now living, the computer, space, and nuclear age, forces us to develop the Marxist-Leninist legacy in all directions. It forces us not to see the enemy's face immediately in everything. It forces us to react to changes in the world and in life, accepting their value, defending them, and developing them. This age has made its mark on peoples and nations. The age of computers and electronics brings peoples, classes, and nations closer together, developing their identity. All this is bound to prompt us to think about the content, forms, and ideas of the class struggle in a different way from 60 or 40 years ago. Capitalism's image is not the same as it once was. The nature of the working class' work in the socialist countries themselves is changing. These phenomena and processes must be investigated, evaluated, and analyzed one by one and accurately if we are aiming at real competition between the two different and coexisting systems. The proposals which Gorbachev sent to the UN General Assembly last September open up new areas not only for world security, but also for creative and autonomous development for all. Drawing together classes, social strata, peoples, and states does not make them amorphous, but enhances their mutual understanding.

[Foa] How do you view the communist parties' role in this phase of history?

[Dubcek] The aspiration to seek and find a new dimension to the communist policy does not date from the "Prague Spring", even in Czechoslovakia. Back at the start of the building of the USSR, in what was a much more difficult situation, Lenin perceived the change in the situation and outlined the tasks of the NEP, the New Economic Policy. Thrusts for renewal, creativity and research came subsequently during the Khrushchev period, following the 20th congress, but they did not last long.

Now a critical view of the recent and less recent past would help us make progress in assessing our revolutionary path. It is crucial, however, to acquire a comprehensive general knowledge of the present situation in each socialist country and throughout the socialist community, comparing it with the surrounding world. In so doing we cannot seek ready-made formulas in books, however wise. We must examine the new trends toward the intellectualization of production, administration, and government, and seek answers to the resulting problems; we must have our own idea, our own overall view of the political, economic, and cultural future, and identify a possible future within the range of possibilities by means of a collective effort.

In the spirit of this rebirth, whose characteristic traits are now visible in the USSR, every socialist country should strive to seek the most suitable solutions to its own political, economic, cultural, and social problems. Perhaps only thus can the shared socialist experience be best enriched. Above all, by so doing it will be possible to increase the importance of people, citizens, the workers, and the subjective factor, and therefore even the political parties. And it is necessary to use specific actions and to spurn platitudes to avoid justifying the unjust extensions of roles which, for instance, permit or consolidate individual groups' positions of domination over the whole of society. How, specifically; by means of what structures, mechanisms, and forms of organization can the role of the state, of self-management, and of the communist party now increase? The classic writers, to whom so many people often like to cling, talk in terms of the growth of some factors and the demise of others. In that case it is necessary to identify which factors are emerging and developing and which, on the other hand, have already reached their peak and are starting to decline.

However, these are only my ideas for the rebirth of socialism and its ideals. Just as I reject, and continue to reject, automatic comparisons between the crises in the socialist countries—which is a legitimate attitude—so I reject similar comparisons between the various ideas about the future. Indeed these ideas will thrive if they emerge from their own specific environment and are nurtured by a voluntary and mutual joint effort. Then not only will they thrive but they will be enriched by the political, economic, social, and cultural effects of this interchange.

Be that as it may, the present situation now confronts us in Czechoslovakia, as in other countries, with problems—part old, part new—that we must tackle in a non-traditional way, and at the same time with entirely new problems to resolve, for which it is necessary first to extend the political margins.

When I recall some of Marx' words in "Louis Bonaparte's 18th Brumaire", "concerning revolutions that constantly return to their origins, scorn present uncertainties, and, last, set themselves higher objectives...", it makes me think of the USSR's 70 years of development

and of how many domestic and international difficulties Soviet Communists have had to surmount. Now "the wooden tzarist Russia, the Russia of the kopeks" is a prime world power. I have personally witnessed the stormy changes. From 1925 my parents worked actively within the context of international assistance to Soviet Russia and I lived in the USSR for 17 years. Partly for this reason, with both my heart and mind, I wish the CPSU leadership, and Comrade Gorbachev personally, major successes with the new policy. For the sake of change in human society, the Soviet people have endured losses and made sacrifices perhaps unparalleled by any other other people in the world. They deserve an even better life. As far as I am concerned, I regard the 27th CPSU Congress and Comrade Gorbachev's actions as a revolutionary change of course.

[Foa] When Gorbachev paid an official visit to Czechoslovakia last spring, according to western sources you wrote the CPSU general secretary a letter. Do you confirm this? If so, what subjects did you broach in that letter?

[Dubcek] I have already discussed my attitude toward the CPSU Central Committee's policy, so expressively represented by Gorbachev. My opinion of his visit can be inferred from this and from my conduct as someone who tries to act specifically and realistically. True, I do not like discussing my correspondence with anyone, just as I do not generally publicize my viewpoints unless I have received a direct reply. I try above all to make a positive contribution to surmounting the tragic events prompted by the 21 August 1968 military intervention and by its repercussions on my country's politics and life.

I wrote a long letter and addressed it to the CPCZ Presidium and Central Committee. A great many incorrect things have been said about me and the official policy of 1968; artificial conclusions hve been drawn, demagogic statements have been made, untrue and nonobjective information has been spread and conveyed even to the allied countries. This is why I also sent this letter to the leadership of certain socialist countries, including the Soviet Union. I also subsequently sent the latter a greetings message on the 70th anniversary of the October Revolution. Be that as it may, there are still blank pages concerning that period, which even then was not considered our own internal affair but was internationalized. So what happened and what followed on from it does not concern our party alone, though the key to a solution does lie primarily in the hands of the CPCZ and of our peoples.

Back in 1974 I wrote down my opinions about our process of rebirth, its termination, and the consequences deriving from this. This resulted in extraordinarily harsh police measures against my entire family and a public campaign throughout the country—naturally, without any reference to what I had written. Now in this new situation I could not omit to express my opinions to the CPCZ Central Committee again; I could not omit to point out the similar assessments and viewpoints expressed in 1968 by those who now have the crucial say in the party and state leadership; I could not omit to put forward a way of freeing ourselves from the burden that weighs so heavily on our national history. I had to recall the change of course imparted after 1969 by outside intervention to the policy of party and government renewal outlined in the "Action Program", party resolutions, and government documents already approved or about to become law back in 1968.

Marginal phenomena-perhaps damaging to the party, to the reform movement, and therefore to socialism—were intentionally made to appear crucial and decisive. Thus the solid position that the party and state enjoyed among the people, thanks to a revolutionary socialist program, was ignored. The entire party, all our nationalities, our entire people spontaneously supported that program. The young generation were literally dragged along by the revolutionary current of socialist building. Anyone who did not see, experience, live through, and feel it would find it difficult to understand the moral and ideological strength that had begun to turn into a material strength.

It is this very strength that a new kind of party must constantly nurture with a strong and convincing program. This dictated events in our country that cannot be compared with what happened in the countries whose leadership groups at that time were not seeking renewal through the masses' confidence in the party and in socialism.

Therefore I cannot agree with those who draw a parallel between our 1967-68 and Poland. In our country the people, working class, peasants, and intellectuals supported and defended their party and joined it spontaneously. Now many do not know this or refuse to acknowledge it. At that time the Polish United Workers Party, the PZPR, chose a different path and was praised because "it held the reins firmly", until the crisis exploded in 1970. Precisely to avoid similar developments the CPCZ took the path of socialist revolutionary rebirth—in other words, reform, the Czechoslovak restructuring. To fail to see this fact now means failing to see the path that the Soviet Communists are pursuing, failing to see its inspirational strength.

The unresolved tragedy of 1968 and of subsequent years, which has dealt a heavy blow to Communists and to many non-party members, nurtures a situation that vividly reminds people today of the events of that time. The past, marked by 21 August and the consequent changes, must be transcended by means of an open-minded view of the present problems and of their solution.

Do people, on their own initiative, take their gold and considerable sums of money to the bank to support socialism by contributing to the "Fund of the Republic" at a time of "open counterrevolution"? What about the

young people who wanted to build the mountain railroad in the High Tatra, as the youngsters of my generation did with the "youth line"? Would people in factories, workshops, and offices work with unprecedented enthusiasm because "a counterrevolution threatened a return to capitalism"? After all, our people were not so naive and no rewriting of history can cancel out those events. Although the process of rebirth lasted less than 9 months, the economic results of 1968 transcended all previous increases and the annual growth rate of the national income was higher than throughout the period 1969-86. Is this how the masses express themselves at a time of chaos and disorder? Who could believe that?

I believe I can say that there were no internal forces—or even external forces, in view of our Warsaw Pact membership—capable of overthrowing socialism. I would add that neither were there any splittist or dogmatic internal forces capable of carrying out subversion. We had a solid guarantee in the people and the mass character of the renewal movement.

I would like to stress that this assessment cannot be altered even taking account of the tendencies that emerged then in conflict with our own policy—propagandist tendencies on the part of certain extremist elements without any substantial importance in our society—and that are now so emphatically exaggerated in an attempt to justify the theory that there was a serious threat of Czechoslovakia's becoming detached from the socialist bloc and of a restoration of the capitalist system. It has even been said that "there was a specific bloc of right-wing revisionist forces that enjoyed the full political, moral, and material support of the imperialist forces" and that "it was an attempt to nullify the results not only of the socialist revolution in Czechoslovakia but also of World War II in Europe."

If you are acquainted with the assessments made in my regard following my expulsion from the CPCZ, according to which I was "the chief representative of the right-wing revisionist and opportunist current within the CPCZ leadership", you may legitimately wonder how I could have become part of that bloc. I really do not know. However, perhaps I did so because I believed in the strength of the workers' masses and saw that another path was possible or perhaps because, despite all that had happened, I adhered resolutely to my ideas. I was at the head of the party and knew—as did my aides and the Central Committee members—that the approach of the new policy was correct and accepted by the people.

[Foa] What do you propose for the present, to resolve this long phase?

[Dubcek] The new tasks that we set ourselves at that time, that we discussed publicly and then implemented could now be the easiest way of surmounting the split within the state, society, and the party, which is still very apparent in our joint state of Czechs and Slovaks. I have already said that the responsibility lies with those in government. However, the final word lies with the citizens, who should have the opportunity to assert their own ideas and to take an active, not merely formal, part in the debate that has begun in order for something substantial to begin to change.

In discussing this I cannot omit to express my protest and disapproval at being defined—without an opportunity to reply—as a representative of antisocialism and anti-Sovietism. What good does all this do? If only it were a mistake, at least. Instead it is an intentional fabrication reflecting a specific scenario suited to the time in which it was created. I was, and remain, a member of our civic society. For me the years 1967-68 were the path to the formulation and implementation of a new socialist sociopolitical program. I repeat: I was in favor of a socialist program. My conscience and ideals prevented me from saying that I agreed with the abandonment of the "Action Program."

In support of my ideas at that time, which are the same as the ideas of today, I cite a passage from the appeal supposedly addressed to our people by those who called for the allied troops to enter Czechoslovakia. That appeal is still unpublished in our country, though it was carried by the press in five allied countries on 22 August 1968. It urges our people to support the allied troops and gives solemn assurances that the signatories wanted—and I quote from PRAVDA, the CPSU organ—"to paralyze the forces threatening the path taken with the policy introduced in January, the platform for our socialist growth, and the program that has received our people's extraordinary support. This unanimity and this support have confirmed the correctness, strength, and force of attraction of our new path."

When, therefore, were our people and the world public ever told the truth? Neither then nor now. What are we to say about the 468,000 Communists—over half of whom had been party members for over 20 years—deprived of their membership cards and social status? Apart from the Communists, other citizens and their families and children were hit. What a loss did this entail for our society? Is this not sufficient argument for the present policy? Perhaps not: You are well aware of all this....

[Foa] Let us come back to Gorbachev's visit to Prague. What results do you think it had?

[Dubcek] Before, and, more especially, during the visit, the Czechoslovak representatives said they were fully in favor of the principles of the new Soviet policy which aims to speed up socialist development, and they said they were inspired by it. The CPCZ Central Committee General Secretary, the president of the federal government, and the other party and state leaders, spoke of the party's policy directed toward Czechoslovak restructuring. I repeat that this delights me, although these statements have yet to be turned into practical action. The draft law on state enterprises and other proposals have

been put forward. A comprehensive document on the restructuring of the economic system has been drawn up and public opinion is asking for a rapid, substantial, and detailed review of it. However, many provisions contradict each other.

They then started to discuss the democratization of society and the party. These statements are positive, but practical action is decisive. The people are making comparisons between these new trends and 1968, and also with the practical implementation of the CPSU's restructuring.

This is the context in which Gorbachev's visit took place. When he arrived, our people welcomed him, not only as CPSU general secretary and the leading representative of an allied country, but primarily as the leading figure in the new policy of rebirth in the USSR, which opens up such great hopes for the whole socialist community.

I do not want to conceal the fact that the vast majority of Czechoslovaks cherished excessive illusions about the possibility that this visit would produce a political change. There was disappointment and pessimism after hearing and reading the words spoken by Gorbachev about Czechoslovakia after the 1968-1969 period as he walked through Prague's streets or in the factories which he visited—words which did not agree with our people's opinion. Naturally, this should not be the yardstick by which to judge a visit which had a great influence on the CPCZ's line (for the time being only on its line). Indeed, anybody who thinks carefully about Gorbachev's statements finds that they contain a good dose of reason. Like many other people who were once active in the party, I see the positive influence which the visit had on our policy line, taking account of the time and place, and of the situation in our country and the neighboring countries. But public opinion and ordinary people do not see things in the same way, and it would be a mistake to expect them to do so. They assimilate facts and events in a much more direct way and, quite rightly, seek the truth—the truth in which some of them participated and of which they are now living witnesses. If they do not receive adequate answers, they sink into pessimism or indifference, or grow angry. They do not or are not willing to take account of the circumstances which prevent the emergence of the real truth and do not take them "at face value." There is a paradox: We taught the people to think and thinking causes a great deal of worry....

The negative aspect of the situation is that instead of thinking in a united way about a program with which to make progress, some "apparent supporters" of our restructuring and Soviet restructuring are once again pointing an "accusing finger" at the Czechoslovak Communists who were expelled and at other citizens who are not party members, accusing them of "trying to profit from the new course in a parasitical way." They say that they agree with restructuring but, at the same time, they deny the importance of the fundamental inspiration behind our 1968 program. These people are living like parasites on Gorbachev's visit and on Soviet restructuring; this is not true of those ostracized Communists and nonparty people who really support the CPSU's new course with their minds, hearts, and consciences. It is not a finger raised in warning, but a new CPCZ political program, decisive progress, and actions which unite all the Czechoslovak progressive forces, which can produce the expected results.

Instead of seeking ways of clearing out the useless clutter of the past, the advocates of the "iron fist" seem to want half the Czechoslovaks to completely forget 1968 and lose their memory of history and for the other, younger, half to hear nothing good about the events and men of 1968. They "warn" that there would be new dangers. But it is they who are creating the danger, because, consciously or unconsciously, they are behaving in an ambiguous way and refusing to solve real, outstanding, and unsolved problems.

I would like to stress that the main result of Gorbachev's visit lies in the inspiration it gave for a practical approach to the questions of restructuring, its scope, its stages, and its timing. We must draw on this inspiration in principle and in a practical way with positive actions, and not wait to see how things turn out. Time is honest and will tell us the truth. But it must not take long. Otherwise events might follow their course, which might be different from what we hope.

I personally expected that Comrade Gorbachev's visit would produce a statement by the CPCZ and state leadership in favor of Soviet restructuring. It happened. That is why the visit was important and I welcomed it. But the real answer will come when the words become deeds. And I wonder: If there is restructuring, albeit partial, could something happen which has not already happened in the USSR? I think the answer is no. And I have another question: What is the reason for this situation in our movement? There is something unnatural in it.

[Foa] Can the wound inflicted by the Soviet and Warsaw Pact intervention of 21 August 1968 be healed now? If so, how?

[Dubcek] I cannot agree with you when you talk about the "Soviet and Warsaw Pact intervention." It was not that: It was not a Warsaw Pact action because it did not involve Czechoslovakia and Romania, which are members.

However, to answer your question: The wound can be healed. Good medicines are needed, however, not cosmetic treatments, because the substance of the events cannot be replaced by blanks. I have often heard it repeated that time will heal the wound and that 1968 will

be forgotten. This is the classic way of creating blanks, but it is impossible to forget something that is such a profound part of our people's history and inherited memory.

The whole of Czechoslovak history is interwoven with relations with Russia: We have 2 centuries of cultural relations behind us; pro-Russian traditions helped our renaissance; every revolutionary event in Russia—and first and foremost, the October Revolution—has been of exceptional importance for our people. We carefully followed the building of socialism in the USSR and there is gratitude toward the heroic Soviet Army that liberated us from fascist occupation. Moreover, all these ties of friendship, assistance, and cooperation were strengthened as we built socialism. The events of 21 August negated this history and it really is impossible to blank this out.

This does not mean that the wound must fester and that we must live in the past and with the past. We would lose an awareness of the future, which is necessary, however, in order to live. So those who understand our determined stance in favor of socialism and who have at heart the interests of the party and people—whether party members or not—should work honestly to positively eliminate the burden of this past. Those who hold the reins of power in Czechoslovakia have the greatest opportunities and responsibilities for ensuring, within observance of our alliances, that the future is based not on 21 August 1968 and on the policy that ensued, with its tragic consequences for the party and for society's life, but on a new political and program approach. A thorough, honest, and frank examination of the historical facts and a new CPCZ political program can be the way to reunite party and society, to accelerate our socioeconomic development, and to restore dynamism. I believe that if other options are taken it is difficult to expect people to have confidence in Czechoslovakia's rebuilding.

Since I am replying to questions from L'UNITA, the newspaper of a Communist Party working in a capitalist country and performing an opposition role, I cannot omit to point out that the tragic events of 1968 also dealt a particularly heavy and negative blow to the world communist movement worldwide, especially in Europe. So it is not we alone who have to overcome their consequences. It is not the CPCZ Central Committee's fault if our domestic affairs became an international issue, an issue for the workers and communist movement in the broadest sense. Problems emerged within several communist parties and between communist parties; and in some countries two or even three communist parties emerged, thus confirming that a battle was, and still is, under way to renew the ideals of socialism. So the problem does not concern the socialist countries alone.

I must recall, for instance, the PCF's stance in 1968 when it refused the request by the CPSU leadership of the time to support the famous letter from Warsaw signed by five Communist Parties, because "it constitutes open interference in a fraternal party's internal affairs.... A military intervention in Czechoslovakia would be an outright disaster for the international communist movement."

How do you believe Waldeck Rochet would have behaved in my place, with this opinion?

Why did comrades such as Luigi Longo, Waldeck Rochet, and Tito regard our renewal differently from Brezhnev or Gomulka? Why did Ulbricht not understand our socialist stance, unlike Ceausescu?

The main task in healing and closing the wound lies with the CPCZ Central Committee. It is not enough to write in the Constitution that the leading role belongs to the party. The top party body should be aware of its huge responsibility to the nation. The split within the CPCZ occurred not because there was the "new course" but because of its abandonment, because it was defined as "revisionist, opportunist, damaging to socialism's interests." This split was deepened by the inclusion in the party rules of the document titled "Lesson on the evolution of the crisis...". An artificial barrier was thus erected which prevents the elimination of the consequences of an action that excluded forever from the party and from social life communists, ordinary citizens, old antifascist fighters, builders of socialism, and comrades who had throughout their lives displayed an internationalist spirit, including toward the USSR. Let us assume, for the sake of argument, that each CPCZ member deprived of his membership card had a family of two: We are talking about 1.5 million people affected. Let us add the relatives of other citizens who also suffered discrimination for their ideas: Try and count how many that makes, bearing in mind that Czechoslovakia has 15 million inhabitants.... Perhaps many have not been hit directly, but what do they think, deep down? What do they tell their children? Obviously not the same as the new "propagandists." There is a ubiquitous ban that prevents the exercise of jobs or professions dependent on individuals' qualifications and prevents promotion at work and in the mass, social, artistic, or sports organizations—everywhere.

In such a situation it is much easier to be a party member than to be a communist, to be a silent and passive spectator rather than active and committed. Our movement's history bears witness to this. Is this Leninism? It is not.

I do not presume that everyone should agree with these thoughts of mine. Be that as it may, I still think them, and I am not the only one. Lenin certainly identified a danger and he diagnosed it and discussed it in his "political testament", kept hidden for so long. It remains a topical warning. I am well aware that the peoples are the motive force of history, but I believe that with Lenin's death our "navigation" has sometimes veered off the set course, though our ship has weathered the

storms as far as the "Cape of Good Hope." For this reason too I must again stress the historic importance of the Soviet Communists' 20th and 27th congresses.

I would like to add that the "new way of thinking" must also embrace relations between socialist countries and that this is all the more necessary the more these relations—marked by a combination of economic, social, political, scientific, cultural, and lifestyle problems—develop. This was taken into account, for instance, by the joint communique that concluded the latest meeting between Gorbachev and Jaruzelski and that tried, among other things, to eliminate the historical "blanks". I believe this is a more widespread necessity. It applies to the specific case of Soviet-Czechoslovak relations if we want to free ourselves of the burden of the late sixties.

These are indeed very serious, complex, and delicate issues that do not affect my country alone. I realize this. Nevertheless, in addressing my Italian friends and comrades, I cannot neglect that which so profoundly affects our people. It is said now in the USSR that there must be no taboos in society—this is how we behaved in 1968 and it should apply to Czechoslovakia too.

[Foa] What do you think can be done to start healing these wounds?

[Dubcek] I think I must discuss this in a practical way, without allowing myself to be carried away by my feelings. In the interview he granted to L'UNITA, Gorbachev said that "the evaluation of the 1968 events is primarily a matter for the Czechoslovak comrades." This is a legitimate statement if it refers to the CPCZ Central Committee, and to the need for it to adopt a creative approach, and its own initiative. The fact is that in 1968 we Czechoslovak Communists were not divided on the choice for or against socialism, but on how to proceed after the military intervention. Nor were we divided on the choice for or against the alliance, as is now stated, for demagogic reasons. The alliance was an irreversible choice, enshrined in the Warsaw Pact and in the "Action Program." We were divided on the military intervention as a means of resolving our internal situation. At first, it was not a radical split. In fact, in November 1968, the CPCZ Central Committee unanimously approved a resolution on the continuation of renewal based on the "Action Program" and on the new situation. The final division arose when internal and external pressures to make us abandon the policy of rebirth and the "Action Program" increased. We were therefore divided by the decision to abandon a line which had previously been unanimously confirmed, and hence by a different idea about how to solve the crisis which followed the invasion. This division first appeared at the top and then spread throughout the party and the whole of society. This is why I say that division, not unity, was the result of the process of "consolidation."

On this basis the party was "purged" of "revisionist and right-wing opportunist forces" in 1970, in other words of those comrades who had not accepted either the military intervention or the abandonment of the "new course." No less than 468,000 Communists were expelled from the party, in other words almost one third of the members. The vast majority of those who remained in the party, I think, were forced to "adapt." It may be difficult to understand, but a different attitude would have increased the number of people "hit."

Today, restructuring in the USSR, the need for a new way of thinking, and the processes under way in other socialist countries (in China, Hungary, and elsewhere), open up possibilities and opportunities to solve the key problems of our past. But willingness, moral courage, and a sense of responsibility are necessary to prevent the wound from festering instead of healing.

We now know what divided the party and society, and we know that an attempt was made to force ousted Communists or nonparty people into open or potential opposition. I am working on the basis of a lesson of history: The attempt to reunite our movement must be based on a solution to acute development problems, with medium-term objectives and a program which can be understood by the mass of Communists and by broad working class sectors, and which corresponds to their aspirations, without losing a sense of perspective.

Today our movement is fragmented and there is no united viewpoint either among those who belong to government circles or in the ranks of the ousted Communists. This was bound to happen, because there was no opportunity for discussion and open argument.

I believe that, without an effort to reunify the party—the ruling party—it will be impossible to reunify society. I also think that some groups, in both camps, do not want this reunification. The main tendency in leadership groups is to leave the wound unhealed, to leave the official judgment on the past unchanged, and to use cosmetic treatment on some problems of "restructuring." After these 20 years, many of the expellees have lost faith in the possibility of democratizing the party and hence society. None of this can be disregarded. It must also be said that there are very strong groups which aim to push the expellees into open opposition, in a narrow-minded, harmful way, fraught with negative implications.

These attitudes must be overcome. We must make a realistic assessment of what can reunite socialism's convinced advocates. First, there is the inspiration of the 27th CPSU Congress and the subsequent CPSU Central Committee meetings; then there are our achievements and experiences of 20 years ago. On these bases we can draw up a new program, and those Communists and nonparty people who have hitherto had no opportunities ought to take part in drafting it.

In the international sphere, they can help to bring about a change in the leadership groups in various socialist countries, and can help clarify things among them, because 1968 concerns the allies too. The conclusion of the Bratislava meeting between several Communist Parties in August 1968 was not respected, the Moscow Protocol, which was agreed and signed after the entry of the troops, and which stated that our internal policy should be based on the May 1968 Central Committee meeting, was violated; on that basis, the November resolution was drawn up and the Soviet leadership was consulted about it. Finally, what happened after 1969 even conflicts with the "appeal" of those who called in the troops. Thus, the European Communist Parties can make a contribution to the CPCZ by a frank exchange of opinions and experiences, because overcoming the situation created in August 1968, because of the method used, has become an international issue which does not just affect the CPCZ, although it is primarily its problem.

I would like to add that one of the main positive aspects of Gorbachev's visit to Prague was the idea of a "new way of thinking" about Europe. This idea ought to be consistently affirmed in our country, to overcome the burden of the past and to set in motion Czechoslovak restructuring.

To build a united process, we must first restore confidence among European nations and states.

I see this as the only way in which we can have a future, given the present conditions.

[Foa] Two years ago, you wrote a reply to a statement by Vasil Bilak who said that, in 1968, you signed a document with him which spoke of a counterrevolutionary situation in Czechoslovakia. Have you had a reply?

[Dubcek] Not yet. I have had neither a written nor a verbal reply, and the Czechoslovak press, to which I appealed, made no reference to what I wrote. You see, I (and others) am in such a position that I do not have anywhere to which I can address my complaints. I cannot even invoke the law. Nobody has any dealings with me, not even at the lowest level, let alone the press organs.

I could not allow that statement by Bilak to go unanswered. Only Bilak and those who decided to publish that incredible lie in Czechoslovakia know what effect it was supposed to have. Perhaps they wanted to portray me at home and abroad as a dishonest and treacherous man who hypocritically concealed something he had signed. Without my clarification, there would have been a different interpretation of my statement in Bratislava that evening in early August 1968, when I said that I had signed nothing but the document which was then published. The publication of my statement in L'UNITA prevented that, and also prevented what might have followed Bilak's interview, and I do not know what that might have been.

[Foa] After August 1968, the socialist countries faced other agonizing crises. Do you not think that the major problem raised by the CPCZ in 1968—that of the relationship between democracy and socialism—remained unresolved and that aggravated those countries' problems?

[Dubcek] The problems are complex and interconnected. But it is true that they all come back to the relationship between democracy and socialism. I know that the people I am addressing in Italy are vigorous and active. I can therefore discuss problems which concern other communist parties and other countries. Moreover, the events of 1968 in our country and what followed them were subject to strong external influences which—let us admit it openly—eventually became decisive.

I have already said something about us and about Poland. Our process of renewal was timely, it was directed by the Central Committee which took the initiative and raised the problem of a revolutionary socialist program based on socialist democracy. Of course, there were pressures from below, but they came primarily from party organizations which had their finger on society's pulse. As you know, in our country, democratic and humanistic ideals are rooted in the people's lives and are a yardstick for measuring the feelings of individuals and the masses. The pressures from above and below met and were synthesized in the "Action Program" in which the people were also involved. Why? The program was drafted using sociological studies carried out in more that 600 organizations, which revealed major shortcomings and problems. In three of its meetings—from October to December 1967 and in January 1968—the CPCZ Central Committee judged that it was vital to draw up the new program and, while it was being drafted, the people's awareness began to grow, as did their determination to make a democratic and social commitment to the cause of socialism and to improving its quality.

In the scale of priorities which led to the new program, I would give first place to the acute economic and social problems, although they were not as severe as in other countries. But the ideas behind the third 5-year plan were by then proving untenable, as were stagnation and the reduction in national income. There was a clear discrepancy between what our society could be and what it really was, we were falling into a chasm, we felt that socialism's real potential was not being adequately exploited, that social, collective, and individual interests were losing their capacity to influence development. There were shortcomings in services, with negative effects on living standards, and signs of social injustice were appearing. Then there was the question of culture,

the question of socialist democracy in the running of society: The political trials, the extraordinarily harsh sentences, and the other illegalities which affected tens of thousands of people in the fifties remained imprinted on people's minds.

The political authorities of the time did not react in time, and did not realize the urgency of reforms. Instead, they defended the status quo, making conventional choices, including the use of coercion. They created discontent, until society reached the point at which the subject of government, namely the people, became an object. There ws a general trend, with specific characteristics and differences from country to country, but with a common denominator: The relationship between democracy and socialism stagnated, democracy was stifled, increasing the threat of the arbitrary use of power.

The Communist Party ought to understand, and the state ought to ensure, by legislation among other things, that the way in which the system functions constantly produces decisions which confirm its socialist nature and respect for the source of all power, namely the people. This is one of socialism's principles. Autonomous management, development, and leadership should be fully expressed; government methods which prevent abuses and the excessive concentration of power in one of its sections or in the hands of an individual should be guaranteed. Power must be exercized with ideological authority and not with the force of violence and repression. This seems natural, but the real situation is more difficult, and more complicated, as events have shown.

The law should provide adequate and sound guarantees against the return to the old methods of subjectivism, voluntarism, and arbitrariness. Socialist democracy should constantly provide sufficient opportunities at all levels for the people to be able to express their opinions. This approach should govern the selection of cadres, without the limit set by the nomenklatura. The people, the masses should have the right to choose their own representatives, to control them, and to oust them. Self-management should have bodies which are adequate not only for implementing but also for drawing up the state's policy. Thus, the Communist Party, should guarantee itself a leadership role with democratic political methods and it would therefore be the people who would willingly entrust this role to it, on the basis of trust and its policy's power of attraction.

This was the role to which the CPCZ Central Committee aspired in 1968, with a policy of unrestricted support for the progressive and unrestricted opposition to political and social evil. And it succeeded. It was its most significant achievement. It proceeded from the idea that socialism is not only the liberation from exploitation but—and I quote from the "Action Program—"must provide more for complete personal fulfillment than bourgeois democracy can."

It is therefore right to emphasize the relationship between democracy and socialism, as you do. The two are coupled together. If democracy weakens, if its links with socialism are not observed, then socialism is devalued, which leads to crisis phenomena even in the socialist countries.

Over the past 20 years the socialist countries' difficulties have become exacerbated. This is confirmed by the impetus that exists in some countries for the political, social, and economic reawakening of society.

I must also say that an undemocratic climate characterized relations between individual parties of the socialist countries. The expression "democratic relations", for instance, was conceived and implemented unilaterally, in the direction of a "unity" interpreted in a hierarchical way. This is why I so much appreciate the stance of the current CPSU leadership, which rejects hierarchies, interference, and the monopoly on truth and believes hat "Communists' real unity lies in their struggle for their shared objective—peace and socialism." Unfortunately this idea did not prevail 20 years ago.

[Foa] Let us return to 1968. Many people in the West believe that the very fact that the issue of the relationship between democracy and socialism was raised was one of the main causes of the crisis that led to the 21 August military intervention. Do you agree?

[Dubcek] I would not reduce what happened to this alone, though it was a key point in our "Action Program", which was entirely imbued with the effort to best express the relationship between democracy and socialism, to provide it with full and specific substance. I repeat: It was the key to our revolutionary movement. As you well know, we were not granted enough calm and time to implement our policy. I do not now want to list in detail the series of official and unofficial actions taken by the GDR and Polish leadership. History will take stock of them. Nor can you confine yourself to the USSR, though it must have had the final word in the military intervention. Here are just two examples: Shortly after an SED secretary's "private visit" to Prague the illegal radio station "Vltava" started transmitting from the GDR, attacking named Czechoslovak leaders; in Poland if the press had talked about us accurately it would have conflicted with the policy of the PZPR, whose leadership inclined increasingly toward the policy of the "iron fist," in the face of growing pressure among the workers and within the party. In my opinion this played a not inconsiderable role in the decision on an armed intervention. An influence was also exerted—history will make this clear—by deliberately distorted, exaggerated, and fabricated information sent to the USSR by informers in our own country. Some leaders, with a background connected with the errors of the past, lost their positions in secret ballots at the end of congresses. They did not accept defeat gracefully. They

portrayed their own fears as fears for the future of socialism, confusing personal interest with the collective interest. They were willingly heeded in the GDR and Poland.

Neither here nor elsewhere do I mention Hungary or its party and state leaders: Partly in the light of of contacts at that time I assume that this kind of initiative did not occur there and that they were dragged into the "Czechoslovak events."

Furthermore it is doubtful, to say the least, that the success of our reform movement was in the interests of the West (in the political sense of the word). In fact 21 August was useful to it, in one sense.... There were also attitudes that incited our allies and curtailed the time available to us.

I do not want to generalize, however, because I appreciate all the statements, opinions, analyses, and conclusions and the writings of those—whether favorable or critical—who perceived in our new course a possible way to improve East-West relations (and here I use your terminology). Albeit sometimes unintentionally, our program was not understood for what it was, that is, as something formulated for the Czechoslovak party and people and as the result of their stance.

To answer your question, now, 20 years on, I would remind you of this: The policy of the "Action Program" and our resolute determination to implement it were not at that time acceptable to those allies of ours. This was shown by the complete elimination of the CPCZ Central Committee's and government's official policy, adopted by the National Front and Parliament, and the dismissal of that program's standard bearers.

There is another point that I would like to make. An attempt was made to create a "revolutionary government of the workers and peasants" and a "revolutionary court." Two unconstitutional acts were committed in their name—the appointment of a new interior minister and the provision "for the arrest of the major party and state representatives", which was carried out. The language used in the "Lesson..." draws on the vocabulary of that time, since the "revolutionary government" was supposed to prevent the "counterrevolutionaries" from carrying out a "return to capitalism and a detachment from the Warsaw Pact."

Also I always remember the newspapers, the photographs in PRAVDA showing the Moscow workers approving of the intervention against the "counterrevolution" and in defense of the renewal, as is written in black and white in the "Appeal" issued by those who summoned the troops. Should they not have asked our workers' opinion? In some mines, as a protest, miners refused to emerge from the pits; in the absence of the party and government leadership, the workers and people's militia took delegates to the extraordinary party congress under their protection at the premises of CKD, Prague's largest factory; and workers throughout the country went on strike.

To sum up, I would say that the causes of the intervention were as follows: first, the "Action Program" and the revival movement, which transcended the framework of political thought of the time, and the calling of an extraordinary CPCZ Congress on 9 September. Then there was the pretext of the right-wing demonstrations—not crucial to socialist development—which were deliberately amplified because they were not eliminated with the instruments of authority when they first emerged. Last, there was the serious situation in Poland.

[Foa] Looking back now, would it have been possible to prevent the military intervention of 21 August?

[Dubcek] I can answer this in two ways.

You say "now." We now know that it would not have been possible, that in that context the "new course" was unacceptable. We Czechoslovaks did not have the power to implement it. I have heard and read an infinite amount of advice, objections, and criticisms about everything I ought and ought not to have done. Nobody wonders what I could do. An objective person might think that, despite everything, the intervention could have been avoided. Yes, but on one condition: that the "Action Program" and the process of rebirth were dismantled by us, using our own forces, and by forces I mean the use of the army, the police, and the militia. However, there was nobody prepared to do that: not the CPCZ Central Committee, or the government, or parliament, or the president of the republic. However, let us imagine that it was possible to make such a decision legally: It would have met with exceptional opposition from broad masses and, without the use of force, without the intervention of foreign troops, it would not have been accepted. Remember how our people faced the military intervention without violence, how they asked firmly and without hesitation for the top party and state leaders to return home. Time has shown that the "Action Program" and the nonviolent, voluntary, and democratic way in which it was implemented was crucial in that political interplay.

No account was taken of the unfavorable attitude of influential communist parties; but a broad international Communist Party conference held without the CPSU's consent would have been impossible and, in my view, would have been extremely damaging to our movement; the proposal for Romania and Yugoslavia to take part in the Bratislava meeting was rejected. But could that have averted the intervention? I do not know.

I would also like to reaffirm that, after the signing of the Bratislava document, less that 3 weeks before the intervention, I asked Alois Indra and Drahomir Kolder, who

were both Central Committee secretaries at the time, to put forward measures to be adopted after the meeting ended. Instead, a group of policemen arrested me on the night of 20 August, acting on Indra's instructions. I did everything to respect the Bratislava agreements. Is there any need to add more?

Yes, because it would be possible to answer your question by saying that what happened could have been averted. But, this could only have happened if we had been allowed to implement the Bratislava agreement, if the principle of noninterference had been respected, and if it had been possible to hold the extraordinary CPCZ congress, because it embodied the political line and therefore it alone was qualified to deal with the "Action Program" and the demonstrations by right-wing, sectarian, and dogmatist elements, and, finally, if the document signed in Bratislava on 3 August had not been violated—a document which stated that the participants must act on the basis of the principles of respect for equal rights, sovereignty, national independence, and territorial integrity.

Frankly, to make my reply clearer, I can say that if the CPSU had then had the leadership it now has, the armed intervention in Czechoslovakia by the five armies would have been unthinkable.

[Foa] Do you think you made mistakes? Or rather,have you any reason to reproach yourself?

[Dubcek] Everybody is wise after the event. Such people are to be found in abundance, in our country and abroad. It is sad that those people who failed to give a fair picture of our new policy at the time, if only on individual points, are talking about mistakes. There were then a large number of false supporters. Some people drew up resolutions and wrote books on "our mistakes" and described our whole process of restructuring as a mistake.

Of course, the events of 1968 in our country are regarded differently by supporters and opponents. Let us take the example of the question of pluralism, which was discussed in our "Action Program": Those who regarded it as a mistake saw it as the restoration of the kind of pluralism which existed in the years before the Munich agreement when there were dozens of opposition parties. Its supporters saw it as socialist pluralism, as the opportunity to express various interests of social, cultural, and other kinds of organization united in the National Front and, possibly of other organizations representing specific interests. Moreover, we had and still have a tradition of activity within organizations.

But let us return to the documents we produced at the time, taking account of the situation we had to face politically, the thrusts from the left toward sectarianism and dogmatism, and the thrusts from the right, together with anarchistic and antisocialist tendencies.

Hitherto unknown phenomena were then discovered in Czechoslovakia. The "231 Club" (called after article 231 of the penal code which was the basis of sentences for antistate activities) was formed as a result of a social initiative and called for the rehabilitation of unjustly condemned citizens. Some supporters of antisocialist groups also intended to use the "231 Club," although efforts to remedy the effects of the big political trials were then nearing completion. There were also emotive attitudes. We reached an agreement with the "231 Club" which was losing its justification because the state had shouldered the task of remedying injustices, proceeding without unnecessary excesses. But the truth must be told: There were 36,000 cases.

Another social initiative gave rise to "Kan" (the club for committed nonparty people), whose members sought opportunities for activities to promote the rebirth movement. I had the opportunity to discuss it with a leading professor. It is true that some individuals wanted to use "Kan" to attack the "Action Program." Another reason for attacking the leadership of the time was the request for the Social Democratic Party to be revived. We opposed that, stating that the problem had been overcome with unification in 1948. I addressed the big assembly convened to mark its anniversary. And because of its ultimate effects, the behavior of the authors of the "2,000 words" was also damaging to the renewal process. Objectively, they played into the hands of the sectarian and anarchistic groups. It must also be said that, when censorship was abolished, some sections of the press thoughtlessly "tried to see whether they really could say absolutely anything" and their rash behavior provided "arguments," and they made "good shots" which, however, backfired on us, damaging our relations with other countries. It is true that these mistakes were not the whole picture, and were isolated incidents from which generalizations cannot be made, because the mass media as a whole played a favorable role in the process of rebirth.

Why am I recalling these undesirable, isolated phenomena which contradicted our policy and on which the presidency and the party Central Committee adopted the necessary political attitudes, which are on record? Why do these phenomena provide arguments to those who maintain that we were mistaken and that we were "reluctant to eliminate them using the tools of power." Let us state frankly: The state and party had those tools. But if we had used them would we have been consistent with the policy which we had begun to follow? No. Quite the reverse, we would have strayed from the path we had taken. That was perhaps what our enemies hoped.

It would be naive to think that a process like the 1968 process could have avoided these extremist, secondary phenomena. The party and state leadership saw, analyzed, evaluated, and judged those phenomena and condemned them with political not administrative methods and tools. Each of us, including some of those who

remained at the top, knew and know that those phenomena, in all their complexity, did not have the characteristics of an organized internal force capable of overthrowing the government. Moreover, the troops which intervened did not occupy the buildings where those organizations had their headquarters, they occupied all the party, government, and mass media offices. The party and state leaders were arrested but nobody who belonged to the "counterrevolutionary bloc" (or was that "bloc" formed of party and state leaders?).

I do not now want to discuss how much I have thought about the question which you have asked me. For me, these have been years of meditation, self-appraisal and self-assessment, in which all those events have passed before my eyes constantly. I do not think that I need to wear sackcloth and ashes, and I do not think there is any reason to do so, especially in my present situation. Some people think I ought to have proceeded more rapidly, other people think I ought to have proceeded more slowly. Now that we know what was really at stake and know what the outcome was, that is all really irrelevant and pointless. It is a hard and fast rule that there are negative phenomena in any revolutionary movement, especially if it is serious and important. It is up to the political leaders to find ways of eliminating them.

I have no real reason to reproach myself. I can state in all conscience, in accordance with my convictions, remembering the events of 1968, that our process of rebirth and the policy with which it was implemented triumphed among the Czechoslovak people. They were thwarted by nonpolitical methods. We did not make a mistake, but it was beyond our capabilities. This tragedy is still a burden on our revolutionary movement.

[Foa] What was the most critical moment for you during those weeks, which were so critical for everyone?

[Dubcek] Please do not insist on an answer.

[Foa] You have rarely broken your silence since your expulsion from the CPCZ. You have not been allowed to express yourself publicly in your own country. A number of your political writings have appeared in the West: I recall extracts from your last Central Committee speech, your letter to Smrkovsks's widow, your letter to the National Assembly, your condolence message on Berlinguer's death, and your reply to Vasil Bilak in L'UNITA. If I may ask you a personal question, why have you been so reticent?

[Dubcek] You say "reticent".... Perhaps to the public at large.... We cannot all do the same thing, especially in our situation. Perhaps I bear a greater responsibility for what I say and write, as reflected in corresponding government countermeasures....

I would like to add to your list the fact that I expressed my viewpoint on the Czechoslovak events to a some of the Communist Parties that took part in the military intervention (those of Poland and the GDR.) That was in 1975, before the International Conference of Communist Parties in Berlin. I believe that the recipients conveyed my viewpoint to the participants in the intervention. At the time I believed it was an internal matter for the Communist Parties. Then I wrote a number of letters to the CPCZ general secretary, to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Slovakia, to the interior minister, to the prime minister, to the prosecutor general of the Supreme Court—and several times to the same addresses. Altogether, those letters fill several files. True, I did not publicize this. Perhaps the objection could be made that I was knocking at locked doors.... Nevertheless I am still knocking. I did so 10 February last year with a letter to the Party Central Committee Presidium containing my ideas about how to resolve the key problems of the late sixties and after. I may not have written much, but as for the substance, I believe it is relatively important.

Often the crucial aspect is not who writes and how often, but the substance of what is written. I have devoted myself solely to the crucial problems. I do not consider this correspondence futile—even the unpublished correspondence, whether addressed in this country or abroad. This is why I wrote the CPCZ Central Committee in February. I do not know whether its members were apprised of this.... I would like to be wrong, but I assume that it was not put before the Central Committee.

[Foa] I would like to ask you some other personal questions: What was your life like after your expulsion from the CPCZ? What did you do? What books were you able to read? How were your relations with the CPCZ and the government?

[Dubcek] My expulsion was reported in the daily press in 1970. You will realize that for someone who had been with the party since 1939, who had been in the resistance, who had worked passionately for the renewal and building of the socialist republic, and who had persuaded and led others in the same direction, it was a wound that is not so easily closed.... On the contrary, it bleeds and does not heal. Mental pain is much harder to endure than physical pain. I have experienced both. In the fifties others experienced them. Neither then nor 20 years ago was the statutory principle whereby everyone is entitled to attend the proceedings of the party organization discussing his punishment observed. For my part, I was recalled from Turkey, where I was ambassador. I was summoned before a special commission, replied to the questions and points put to me, and also set down my viewpoints in writing. There was no talk of expulsion or punishment at that time. In my absence the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium reached the decision to expel me, subsequently ratified by the Central Committee. In the climate of the time and with an already diluted Central Committee, perhaps the result could not have been otherwise, but I would have been pleased of the opportunity to look some of its members in the eye....

There is one important aspect that I must point out in this connection: Throughout the 1968 period of renewal nobody was expelled from the Central Committee elected back at the time when Antonin Novotny was party leader, apart from Novotny himself—and that was in his presence. This too demonstrates the method of our renewal policy. I do not know whether I make myself clear when I say that nothing is resolved by replacing "one unity" with another "unity" if it us not the result of a qualitative transformation based on a new approach to the program. Unity is not achieved on anyone's orders, through some pious hope: It is the outcome of something else entirely; it depends on differences, many opinions, so that it becomes a living branch of the stream, not a dead branch....

What was my life like in the years that followed? Figuratively speaking, it was like that of a prisoner walking under surveillance within a confined area.... I wrote something similar at the start of my letter to the Federal Assembly and the Slovak National Council in 1974, but nothing came of it. Following a nationwide campaign I was also expelled from the trade union.

It has been made clear to me in every possible way that I am "peripheral", outside society and the course of events. I trained as a fitter, so I worked on mechanization for a forestry concern. Before retiring I also spent some time in a workshop. It is a fine job. Some say it is very dirty. But it is "clean dirt." I do not mind picking up my bread and dripping and blowing it clean if it happens to fall on the floor. What worried me was the fact that the "guardian angels" were watching me and somehow making their presence felt. I have not seen them since comrade Gorbachev's visit to Prague. For 19 years I saw too many of them; I needed strong nerves, but sometimes they did give way.

Of course I was able to read, though not everything out loud. Reading provides spiritual nourishment even in turbulent times.... People find many opportunities to relax through literature, stories, and poetry. By the way, throughout these years I have read and reread the poems of our revivalist authors of the mid-19th century. They have an exceptional energy, a huge emotional and spiritual strength, by virtue of the determination and goodwill that they elicit in the reader.

It may surprise you, but I have even reread school set books, such as "Dog Heads" ["Psohlavci"] and other literary works on historical themes by Jirasek. They are books reflecting life, in which work is bound up with our ancestors' commitment to municipal, citizens', or national rights. I am talking about works such as Weiss' "I Was Born Naked", Seifert's "All the Beauties of the World"—which was rightly awarded the Nobel prize for literature—and Hrabal's "The Village by the Water." I am also interested in samizdat literature, in which I find that which cannot be published in our country. At times of greatest sadness I return to Hasek's "The Good Soldier Svejk." There are so many "wise follies" in it about war, policemen, dogs, and ministers that it is impossible not to laugh, even if you previously felt like crying ....

In my situation I have had to return to the still valid works of the classic authors, Marx, Engels, and Lenin. I have in mind so many of their thoughts, which I consider a legacy for future generations of revolutionaries. Consider the following from Engels, for instance: "One thing at least is certain: The victorious proletariat cannot impose a happy way of life on any foreign nation, lest it bury its own victory." I believe there is material here on which to base your questions and my answers. For my part, I regard the whole of our theory as a way of thinking and acting that has a characteristic, namely, creativity, which many find it difficult to respect, even though they are always talking about "Marxism-Leninism", which in fact they do not fully understand.

Previously I was only superficially acquainted with Gramsci. Time, these long years, have brought him closer to me. I received his "Foundations of Politics" from a friend. I have underlined his thoughts here and there, made notes of them, and indicated pages with pieces of paper used as bookmarks. Gramsci understood long before us the philosophical problems of industrialization and many other things.

Last, my relations with the CPCZ Central Committee have been as follows: I have written letters and they have shelved them. I have received no reply. Even this, however, is a kind of reply.

[Foa] Over these long years, did you think you might one day be able to continue the work which was so abruptly interrupted in August 1968? What gave you and now gives you confidence and hope?

[Dubcek] First, I am trying to make myself useful, by issuing appeals, and trying to exhort the CPCZ Central Committee comrades to take the steps which I think might help to shake off the burden of the past, in the interests of the party and of the internationalist duty to help the other parties in allied countries to shake off this burden which weighs down on them all. To set in motion a new phase in socialist development in Czechoslovakia with a new restructuring program: This was my main intention when I wrote my letter to the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium last February. It is for others to judge whether and to what extent I have been useful.

My unconcealed ambition is to have my political honor restored. I want this for myself but also for the other comrades who were affected. The proverb says that while there is life there is hope. Anybody who loses hope, loses a sense of his future. I draw confidence and hope primarily from my belief in the justice and legitimacy of our method of action expressed in the "Action Program" 20 years ago. Anybody who reads it now must admit that it's still relevant: imparting new impetus to economic

reform, combining democracy with socialism and socialism with democracy, and defining methods for more consistent and more open action by the Communist Party with respect to our people. I drew hope and confidence from events which confirmed my convictions. The idea of the policy of rebirth is alive in the party and among our people, attempts to permanently stifle and kill it have failed. It lives on deep in our people's minds. It must be given a face and a form which corresponds to the current situation, and which has been adapted to the present and the future.

Finally, it is the CPSU's new policy which confirms the need I feel for a complete revolutionary revival of socialist ideas and of the practice of socialist building in the new phase of development.

To cite your Gramsci: I draw hope from the "philosophy of praxis."

Dubcek Comments on Interview

PM151534 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
10 Jan 88 p 13

[Alexander Dubcek commentary: "Concerning This Interview"; first paragraph is L'UNITA introduction]

[Text] What did this interview mean to the interviewee? In the long text that we received from Bratislava in November, following the answer to the final question, three asterisks marked a break. The following are further comments that Dubcek made on what he said and why he said it, and apparently almost apologizing for what he omitted to say. Within the context of these remarks, he also adds a number of suggestions, in particular that the human rights conference proposed by the USSR admit unofficial contributions as well. Having read these pages, we decided that the best choice would be to present them separately.

I would like to add certain comments concerning this interview. As I ponder the questions and the answers I have given, my mind is filled with past and present events. I would not want anything that I have said—especially about the CPCZ, within which I worked for a particular political course—to sound exaggerated or unbalanced, as though I considered only one side of the situation, neglecting the life and work of the whole of our society, of which the Party is a specific integral part. An interview of this kind, on fundamental issues, entails some generalization. You try to define total events and processes. This is not easy to achieve, however, just as it is difficult to provide theoretical formulations with a proper implementation, by comparing them with real conditions. Precisely with regard to social problems—and I consider this extraordinarily important and fundamental—when you want to ascertain the correctness of theories, there is no other test bench than the life of society itself. This is why the union between workers and intellectuals is indispensable within the revolutionary movement to which we belong.

For my part, I try to understand our country's present situation as best I can. I am well aware that nobody can be divorced from the past, from his own social roots, just as the present is the foundation of the future, of the weight that future generations will shoulder. This is why I ponder the development of our theory, the ideals of socialism, and the future practice of a socialist society, just as I ponder capitalist society within the context of the evolution of human society, both as a whole and in its individual components. I reply with a resolute "yes" to the question: Does socialism have a future? Yes, but what will this future be like? Will it be the same as what we know now? No. So what will it be like? What will the new socialist ideas be? Of course their theoretical strength must be such that they can in practice become a material strength. But will they be merely the ones that we encounter now? No—at least, not exclusively. Where will the new creative development lead? The future will provide the answer. What we do know now for certain is that socialist practice and theory cannot be "straitjacketed"....

In the interview I also try to outline my view of the present. I realize that narrow and distorted opinions abound regarding its variety and multiformity. Why? First, because of the restrictions on the country's democratic life. Those who feel a pressing need to express themseleves on our problems cannot do so freely, cannot compare their own beliefs with other viewpoints, including the official viewpoints. Only that which is in accord with the will of the overwhelming majority is legitimate. True, illegitimacy can, and does, manifest itself in several forms (administrative, military, coercive), but it remains to be seen whether—and, if so, how—it can leave a permanent mark on the life of society, without society's rebelling. So it can be only temporary. Therefore it is necessary to introduce democratic rules valid for everyone in all fields. Democracy means discussion—but work and action as well....

Personally, I am pleased that the majority of comrades expelled from the CPCZ still uphold their political convictions, obviously enriched by new experiences and impoverished by numerous illusions—that is, that they speak out in favor of what was the Party's official policy in 1968, comprehensively defined in the "Action Program" and other documents, and that they do so not only in words but above all through specific stances on Czechoslovak society's current problems. It is not easy and it is not always achieved. If we want to retain our dignity, however, we cannot act otherwise.

Then I think about our fellow countrymen who have left the country over the years, for various reasons or personal considerations—an emigration that would have been inconceivable until August 1968 and that still continues, sometimes even at the risk of death. Having myself been unable to leave my country voluntarily, I cannot take issue with them. Indeed I hope that the discriminations will end and that they can find their way back. Not all of them behave the same way, of course,

but even among emigres those who did not adopt a positive stance toward our socialist policy of renewal are an exception. All of them, however, whether or not they return, should have the opportunity to demonstrate in practice that they have not lost their links with their homeland and that they want to defend its reputation throughout the world.

I would like to end this "long distance interview" with some comments on civil rights and human rights in general. Those who, like us—who still call ourselves Communists and are well aware of Marx's assertion that the individual's freedom is the guarantee of everyone's freedom—do not see things solely from the narrow viewpoint of their own interests but want the attainment of collective values, have an obligation to speak out on specific proposals as they emerge in their own country or in the world as a whole. The history of Czechoslovakia's 1968 itself shows that a correction of the distortions would also make a major contribution to building the "European home" on which all nations and states could cooperate on a truly equal basis. Now, however, we can see many coercive actions committed in the past or even at present and the attempt to retain positions of advantage, in conflict with that aim.

I will not now enter into the details of the disarmament process, but I see negotiations ranging from a ban on nuclear testing to the elimination of missiles of various ranges; I see mankind's aspiration to begin the next millenium without nuclear weapons, and thus freed from the nightmare of an end to civilization. This itself is a huge contribution to mutual trust and collective security, to the disarmament process, and to a conception of security based on the lowest possible level of armaments, with the prospect of an elimination of the existing politicomilitary blocs. However, I am also talking about specific international proposals.

The Czechoslovak Government has proposed for the near future a conference on economic cooperation and development involving all the European states that attended the 1975 Helsinki Conference. The USSR has proposed holding in Moscow a conference of states and nations on human rights. It is an important initiative, to which no artificial objections should be made. Everything, including nonobservances, should be discussed both in Moscow and elsewhere. We are a long way from an ideal situation in this regard and obstacles to this conference would damage the renewal process and the implementation of the Helsinki document, including civil and human rights. I therefore particularly support the holding of this conference in Moscow, because it can produce an idea of maximum representativeness, with the involvement of official and unofficial representatives who can have their own say. I believe this was the approach taken by Gorbachev in his interview with L'UNITA.

As far as my personal position is concerned, as is known, I am not a party to, and do not support, any initiative in Czechoslovakia, official or otherwise. I read the official press, observe its constantly recurring themes and its way of edulcorating reality, but also recently the resurgence of a critical tone. My information comes partly also from various materials produced by unofficial structures. With both the former and the latter you sometimes find questionable viewpoints. In the interview I tried to show that everything good that emerged in 1968 was able to materialize thanks to debate: That which was vigorous would take root, while the rest would perish. This is why I still wonder about the reason for the official stubbornness toward everything reminiscent of that period. Daily life is always full of the most varied aspirations that cannot be pigeonholed—for instance, civil initiatives, the spirit of sacrifice, environmentalism, strong family ties—all very benificial to society, if it is true that one good act is worth more than endless words.

This is why in 1968 we spoke out in favor of a policy not "against" anything but "for" something that was as much in harmony with our people's aspiration as possible. We all worked in this positive, constructive direction—individuals, Communists, other democrats: our entire society, you could well say. This was the aim of our "Action Program." We considered it a document open to further developments. The extraordinary support that it encountered throughout the country itself bears eloquent witness. At the Party congress scheduled for September 1968 we planned to conduct a detailed analysis of both positive and unwanted phenomena: On this basis we would better understand how to proceed further. However, the Party, the elected delegates to the congress, and the Central Committee were granted an extremely short time—shorter than that granted to a newborn child to come into the world from his mother's womb.

As is well known, people particularly like to remember the times in their country's life and history when it was possible to do something useful and really creative. Nobody can cancel out the positive substance and the creative approach of our 1968 program. It will not be forgotten: It will live on in the history of my homeland and of Europe. With it, it will be possible to assess many of the movements rooted in that soil, in that creative atmosphere.

ORBIS Reportedly Reacts to Interview

LD182144 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1850 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Prague, Jan 18 (TANJUG)—Sympathies with the policy of Soviet Party leader Mikhail Gorbachev "cannot bring back into public activity" one-time first secretary of the Czechoslovak Communist Party Central Committee Alexander Dubcek, the semi-official Czechoslovak news agency ORBIS said in the first reaction to Dubcek's recent interview with the Italian Communist daily L'UNITA.

ORBIS's article has not appeared in the Czechoslovak press yet, but it is known to have been sent to some editorial offices abroad as Prague's first reaction to the interview in which Dubcek asked for the restoration of "political dignity" to himself and to all those who met a fate similar to his.

The article stresses that due to gross political mistakes, Dubcek was excluded from political life in August 1968 when forces of the five Warsaw Treaty countries entered Czechoslovakia.

In speculating that such an intervention by the Warsaw Treaty countries would be unthinkable under the present Soviet leadership, Dubcek probably wants to say that a civil war similar to the Hungarian events of 1956 towards which Czechoslovakia was actually moving, would be a better solution—says ORBIS.

It describes Dubcek's claim that Gorbachev drew on the Prague Spring for his perestroika as marked with the same pharisaism as his hypocritical, short-lived political career of 20 years ago.

The Czechoslovak agency stresses that no one wants to or will review Dubcek's responsibility. His attempt to join in the process of perestroika and win political rehabilitation indicates his lack of understanding of the true essence of perestroika, says Orbis.

Charter 77 Officials Arrested 17 Jan

AU171403 Paris AFP in English
1143 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] Prague, Jan 17 (AFP)—Several Charter 77 officials were arrested here Sunday, sources close to the Czechoslovak human rights group announced.

Ladislav Lis, deputy chairman of the International Human Rights Federation, and Milos Hajek, one of the Charter's three spokesmen, as well as Vaclav Benda, Frantisek Starek, Petr Uhl and Vydrah, who all signed the 1977 human rights manifesto, were among those held by police, sources said, adding police officers told them "to take along something to eat and read."

Another Charter 77 spokesman, Stanilav Devaty, was arrested in his home region of Moravia on Friday.

No reason was given for the arrests, but they were seen as a move to ban a planned discussion "forum" to be held by Charter members here on Sunday. A similar "forum" in late November had not been prevented by police.

Devaty 'Asked' To Relocate

AU171419 Paris AFP in English
1324 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Prague, Jan 17 (AFP)—Czechoslovak authorities have asked Stanislav Devaty, one of three spokesmen of the Charter 77 human rights group, to give up his job as a computer engineer and move to the eastern part of the country, friends of his announced here Sunday.

Mr Devaty, who has been Charter spokesman since 1 January, was released Sunday two days after his arrest at his workplace.

He has been working at an agricultural cooperative in western Slusovice since 1984 and was asked to move to Poprad in eastern Slovakia.

A spokesman for the cooperative told Mr Devaty the company did "not want any of its employees to be spokesman for Charter 77," sources said, adding that Mr Devaty "will use all legal means to fight the call" to quit.

Several other members of the human rights movement were arrested here Sunday, including author Vaclav Havel, Ladislav Lis, deputy chairman of the International Human Rights Federation, and Milos Hajek, another Charter spokesman. [passage omitted]

CPCZ CC Approves Jakes Report on USSR Visit

LD151902 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1400 GMT 15 Jan 87

[Text] Today's CPCZ Central Committee Presidium session heard a report by Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee about his 11-12 January working visit to Moscow, made at the invitation of the CPSU Central Committee. It approved the results of his talks and set tasks to relevant bodies to secure the implementation of the conclusions directed toward the further advancement of cooperation of the two fraternal parties and countries.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium also decided to convene a joint gala meeting of the Central Committee, the Central Committee of the National Front, the Federal Assembly Presidium, and the government on the 40th anniversary of the February 1948 victory of the working people of Czechoslovakia over reaction, to be held on Wednesday, 24 February in the Spanish Hall of Prague Castle. The gala speech at the session will be delivered by Comrade Milos Jakes.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium also discussed a report on the assessment of the activity and experiences of the CSSR Prosecutor's Office on the state and observance of law in united farming cooperatives and state farms. It noted that at these places of work, the legal norms continue to be violated. Control is insufficient, and the responsible bodies fail to report cases of law violation in good time. Protection of the environment is

insufficient, though a partial improvement has been noticed in the protection of arable land. The overabundance of legal provisions, which makes the advancement of socialist enterprise in agriculture more difficult, was criticized and the Presidium set communists in the governments of the CSSR, the Czech SR and the Slovak SR the task of adopting measures to remove shortcomings listed in the report. It also demanded an improvement to the system of crime prevention in agriculture and to reinforce the responsibility of functionaries of united farming cooperatives and of leading officials of state farms and working collectives for the observance of law in the work of agricultural organizations.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed also some other issues of home and foreign policy.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium discussed the information given by Comrade Milos Jakes about his meeting and talks with Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in which a full identity of views on the issues under discussion was shown. It highly praised the results of the talks, and noted that they are an important contribution to the deepening of the close mutual cooperation between our fraternal parties. It underlined the great importance for our party of the experience of the CPSU in carrying out restructuring and the democratization of the life of society.

In harmony with the results of the talks, the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium called for a greater progress in the application of the new forms of economic cooperation, the securing of the long-term division of labor and coordination of economic policy, the removal of obstacles preventing a broad development of cooperation and specialization, in establishing direct contacts, and in creating joint enterprises. It fully supported plans to create favorable conditions for further all-round development of Czechoslovak-Soviet relations in the ideological, scientific, cultural and other spheres.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium expressed the determination of our party and of our state to cooperate even more actively with the USSR in efforts to remove the nuclear threat, to achieve disarmament, and to create a comprehensive system of international security.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium set central party and state bodies the task of making the conclusions of the talks into concrete steps of action for the relevant bodies. In this connection it asked the CPCZ Central Committee secretaries to inform the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium about the safeguarding of the implementation of these tasks by the end of June 1988.

CPSL CC Assures Jakes of Slovak Support

AU181745 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Jan 88 p 1

["Letter from the CPSL Central Committee to Milos Jakes, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee," approved by the 14 January Bratislava session of the CPSL Central Committee]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Jakes: We convey to you warm, comradely greetings and congratulations on your election as general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee. You are taking up this post at a time when the party directs all the strength, creative abilities, and energy of the workers class, cooperative farmers, and the intelligentsia toward the consistent implementation of the program of the 17th CPCZ Congress, toward asserting the strategy of accelerating socioeconomic development and toward restructuring the economic mechanism and society as a whole.

Communists and other working people in the Slovak SR know you as a loyal son of the Czechoslovak people who has devoted all his life to date to the cause of their well-being. From the days of your youth up to the present you have traversed the path of a dedicated communist who adheres to principles and who by his industry, modesty, and good rapport with the people won their trust and commands authority among them. You were steeled in the struggles of the workers class and the working people for victory in February [1948] and in laying the foundations for socialism. Everywhere you have displayed values characteristic of the best members of the workers class—collective spirit and the ability to find revolutionary solutions to even the most difficult situations.

We hold in esteem your efforts to consistently apply revolutionary spirit in the present stage as we must energetically overcome and remove everything that impedes our more rapid advancement and make fuller use of the material and intellectual potentials of the socialist system. We remind ourselves of your speech at the CPSL Central Committee session last March, in which you emphasized the application of science in practice and in the activity of the party itself in particular.

Your work heretofore has been imbued with care for our Communist Party, for enhancing its role as a vanguard and as the creator of programs, for enhancing its organizational activity and its continuous authentic bonds with the broadest sections of the working people. Along with you we are convinced that every Communist must set an example in political commitment, in the implementation of work tasks, in organization and self-discipline, and in the purity of his personal character.

We know that your optimism as a tenet of life stems from the historic revolutionary mission of the workers class, from your firm conviction about the viability of socialism, about its potentials and merits. The continuity of the foundations of building socialism with the efforts to achieve a higher quality of the socialist society is embodied in your person. As you stressed at the Seventh Session of the CPCZ Central Committee, in these efforts we will make comprehensive use of the experiences of the Soviet Union and the CPSU and will continue to expand and strengthen the indestructible friendship and cooperation between our countries and peoples.

Dear Comrade Jakes: We know well your affectionate [vrucny] attitude toward Slovakia, which has experienced a stormy economic, scientific, and cultural development in the past decades. We know of your personal participation in accelerating and improving the standard of the economy of the Slovak SR and in consolidating the fraternal ties between our nations. As in the past, so in the years to come Slovak Communists and all working people will gladly welcome you among themselves, will confide to you their successes and problems, and will actively support your noble efforts.

Accept our most sincere wishes of health and fresh strength so that you may be successful in your high, responsible post and our party and nations may reach new goals of socialism and peace.

With comradely greetings,

CPSL Central Committee

In Bratislava, on 14 January 1988.

Praises Husak Contribution

AU181747 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 15 Jan 88 p 1

["Letter from the CPSL Central Committee to CSSR President Gustav Husak," approved by the 14 January Bratislava session of the CPSL Central Committee]

[Text] Esteemed Comrade Husak, Communists in the Slovak SR highly esteem your honest and selfless work in the CPCZ, notably in high-level party functions, ever since the time of the antifascist and national liberation struggle. They identify with the great appreciation of your work expressed in the resolution adopted by the CPCZ Central Committee at its seventh session, in connection with the assessment of your request to be released from the post of general secretary and member of the Secretariat of the CPCZ Central Committee. Our Central Committee conveys to you the respect of CPSL members and functionaries and of all Slovak people. You command in your native Slovakia great authority as a revolutionary, politician, and statesman, as a Czechoslovak patriot and consistent internationalist.

As a young person you firmly linked your life with the party and have always remained faithful to the ideals for which it fought. You contributed significantly to the antifascist struggle of our people as a leading party and state functionary. The glorious Slovak National Uprising will be associated forever with your active role in it. You have always devoted all your powers to the implementation of its legacy and remained faithful to this legacy even in the most difficult situations that you experienced in your life.

The overcoming of the profound social disruption, the consolidation of internal party life and of all spheres of social life following their disruption by the crisis, and the principled drive to tackle the political, socioeconomic, and spiritual-cultural tasks of our society's development are all inseparably linked with your many-sided activity in the highest party post. Proceeding from a Marxist-Leninist analysis of the internal and external conditions of the life of Czechoslovak society, you have been asserting the essential need to accelerate the intensification of the national economy. We extraordinarily value your care for the development of our socialist state, the activity of National Front organizations, the deepening of socialist democracy, and consistent compliance with socialist legality.

You have always devoted great attention to the economic, social, and cultural enhancement of Slovakia and to the reinforcement of fraternal ties among the Czech and Slovak nations and the ethnic minorities living in our republic. You made a major contribution to the legal codification and practical implementation of the CSSR's constitutional setup as a federation. The equal relations between the Czech and Slovak nations form the firm foundation of the unity and development of Czechoslovak statehood.

You deserve historic credit for the successes which the CPCZ scored under your leadership in strengthening its Marxist-Leninist character, improving internal party life, enhancing its leading role in society, and consolidating and developing its internationalist ties with the CPSU and the international communist and workers movement. The drafting of the strategy of accelerating the socioeconomic development of the CSSR and of the comprehensive restructuring of all spheres of social life is also linked with your initiative-filled work.

We are profoundly convinced, esteemed Comrade Husak, that in the highest state function and as a member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium you will continue to make an active and inspiring contribution to strengthening the unity of all people in the interest of the successful implementation of the challenging tasks in further developing our socialist homeland. We wish you good health and further successes in your further productive and fruitful state and party work.

CPSL Central Committee

In Bratislava, on 14 January 1988.

RUDE PRAVO Criticizes Pentagon Report

AU151956 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 13 Jan 88 p 7

[CTK article: "Lack of Respect for Realities; The Pentagon Puts Stress on Development of Conventional Weapons"]

[Text] Washington—A report was submitted to President Ronald Reagan on Tuesday [12 January] dealing with U.S. military strategy over the next 2 decades. Its authors, headed by Deputy Secretary of Defense Fred Ikle, have arrived at the conclusion that much more attention must be paid to the conventional arms buildup.

The authors put particular stress on the development and production of highly accurate offensive weapons, which are capable of destroying targets deep in an adversary's territory. They express the opinion that in the future it will not be possible to rely on using nuclear weapons as a means of waging war, because their use would mean self-destruction. Despite that, the document does not recommend that the American Government relinquish nuclear weapons which, according to the authors, must remain an important component of the "containment forces."

The recommendations of the commission are not at all based on the assessment of the existing realities in the world and the true objectives of the Soviet Union. The document stresses that the main task of the American strategy remains the "containment of Soviet expansionism in any part of the world," that the United States and its allies will face the threat of "Soviet attack."

F. Ikle and other members of the commission are concerned with finding ways out of the "nuclear blind alley" of the U.S. military policy. The contradiction between the growing U.S. nuclear strength and the impossibility to use it—without mortally imperilling the aggressor—to achieve political objectives is the main problem facing the Pentagon strategists. Therefore, THE WASHINGTON POST writes, the commission proposes, for example, using the very accurate cruise missiles carrying non-nuclear payload for the first disarming strike at silos holding nuclear ballistic missiles. The concept of the first strike remains; only the means of delivering it are being changed.

The objective of the "selective containment," proposed in the presidential commission's document also is to shift more military expenditure onto the United States' European NATO allies. After all, the Pentagon complains, many of them have been twisting and turning until now and arguing against war preparations because of their non-nuclear status.

Bilak Recives U.S. Congressional Delegation

LD182031 Prague Television Service in Czech 1830 GMT 18 Jan 88

[No video available]

[Text] Possibilities of the development of cooperation between Czechoslovakia and the United States were evaluated today by Comrade Vasil Bilak in a conversation with a delegation from the U.S. Congress headed by Tom Lantos, which is visiting our country. At the same time some questions of the international situation were discussed.

Soviet Friendship Group Views Peace Program

LD152036 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Excerpts] The Soviet Permanent Mission to the United Nations has held a press conference in New York on the second anniversary of the Soviet proposal for eliminating all nuclear weapons by the year 2000. [passage omitted]

On the same anniversary the Czech Central Committee of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Association held a conference today in Prague, and our editor Zbynek Merunka was there:

[Merunka] The conference participants stressed, above all, the viability and far-sightedness of the Soviet program for a world free of nuclear weapons by the year 2000, which has been clearly confirmed by internationl develoments in the past 2 years. (Georgiy Chaglov), head of a department of the magazine PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM recalled in his speech that when the program was declared, the view pravailed in the West that it was a propaganda trick and that the program was unrealistic. Now, however, the United States and other capitalist states are beginning to realize that nuclear weapons cannot secure their global political objectives or military superiority.

Stefan Murin, deputy minister of foreign affairs, noted that the declaration of the progam for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons has literally become a watershed in international relations. The declaration by the Soviet Union, one of the leading nuclear powers, of its readiness to withdraw from the nuclear club and work for its definitive dissolution struck a chord in the feelings of the clear majority of mankind, stressed Stafan Murin at today's conference in Prague.

CSSR-Afghan Cooperation Talks Begin

LD181705 Prague Domestic Service in Slovak 1600 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Czechoslovak-Afghan talks devoted to the development of all around cooperation between the two countries opened in Hrzan Palace in Prague today. The Czechoslovak delegation is led by Rudolf Rohlicek, first deputy federal premier, and the Afghan delegation is led by Sayed Amanuddin Amin, Afghan first deputy premier.

During the talks they noted that there are many reserves in mutual cooperation, the use of which would be to the advantage of the national economies of both countries. They paid special attention to the topics related to the deepening of bilateral economic relations, particularly in heavy engineering, the economy, and consumer industry.

Sayed Amanuddin Amin spoke about the results of the policy of national reconciliation and other tasks of development in Afghanistan. Rudolf Rohlicek expressed support for the efforts of the Afghan people to firmly consolidate political and economic life in the country.

CEMA Representative Arrives in Moscow

LD132318 Prague CTK in English
1928 GMT 13 Jan 88

[text] Moscow Jan 13 (CTK correspondent)—Czechoslovak first deputy premier, permanent representative of Czechoslovakia in the CMEA Rudolf Rohlicek arrived here today for a working visit.

During talks with Soviet representatives, he will discuss especially bilateral cooperation in economy, science and technology.

Police Arrest Demonstrators in East Berlin

30 Reported Arrested

LD171242 Hamburg DPA in German
1125 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] East Berlin (DPA)—More than 30 members of independent groups who wanted to take part independently in an official rally to mark the anniversary of the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht were arrested on Sunday morning in East Berlin. The 30 were taken away from the Frankfurter Allee in a police van and a radio car. Before this, an attempt to display a small homemade notice with the Luxemburg quotation "Freedom is always the freedom of he who thinks differently" was thwarted immediately by plainclothes security forces. The notice was torn from the demonstrators, and at least two persons were taken away, according to eyewitness reports.

Apparently those involved in the action belonged to independent peace and human rights groups and to the "Citizenship Law of the GDR Working Group." This group is concerned primarily with travel and emigration problems. Members of these groups had assembled at the Frankfurter Gate, but were immediately and completely hemmed in by state security personnel.

When they tried to join the rally procession, they were stopped after a few meters. The reasons given were: "Your participation in this rally is not desired." Then they were kept under guard on the street for about 45 minutes until a total of at least 30 of them had to get into police vehicles.

Apparently the state security service had several hundred people on the job to thwart the action. Rumors had been circulating days before in East Berlin that such an action was planned. Western TV teams were hindered in their filming. Large official banners were constantly held in front of the cameras to prevent shooting of film. There was also deliberate jostling.

It seems that about 20 members of independent groups had been under constant observation since Saturday. Ralf Hirsch and Wolfgang Templin, two members of the "Peace and Human Rights" action group, were under house arrest on Sunday, it was further being said.

"Berlin Workers" had been called on to attend the "militant rally" in the press for several days; it takes place in January each year to honor Liebknecht and Luxemburg, who were murdered in 1919.

The "Initiative for Peace and Human Rights" this afternoon demanded in an open letter to Council of State Chairman Erich Honecker the immediate release of the 30 or more people arrested. The letter, which became known in West Berlin this evening, protests against the hindrance of members of the initiative and other peace, environmental, and human rights groups who wanted to take part in the demonstration. Those responsible should ask themselves self-critically, it says, "whether the arrests contribute to the fulfillment of the heritage of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht."

Church Sources Report 100 Arrested

AU181409 Paris AFP in English
1126 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Excerpts] Berlin, Jan 18 (AFP)—Over 100 pacifists and human rights activists were arrested here Sunday during an official ceremony marking the 69th anniversary of the murder of Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, leaders of the German workers movement, protestant church sources said Monday.

They added that 100 to 120 of the people rounded up were taken to East Berlin's Rummelsburg jail. Four of them, including a 16-year-old girl, were released overnight, the sources said. [passage omitted]

Among those arrested was East Berlin singer Stefan Krawczyk, who has links with pacifist groups close to the protestant church, the sources said.

The official press on Monday reported the official ceremony but did not mention the arrests.

Official Sources Silent on Arrests

LD181501 Hamburg DPA in German
1347 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—The GDR security services yesterday reportedly arrested some 120 people during an attempt by independent groups to take part in an official demonstration in East Berlin. According to information from these groups, by midday today 13 had been released of the 60 known by name. Those arrested were taken to Rummelsberg prison. [passage]

The total number of 120 arrests was assumed on the basis of the impressions gained of those concerned at Rummelsberg, it was added in East Berlin. In one cell measuring 16 square meters, 22 men were held. Up to early afternoon there was no official information on the numbers of those arrested and the legal basis for their arrest. [passage omitted]

Even in the runup to the demonstration, according to rumor, around 150 people were called on to sign a declaration that they would not go to the demonstration. Members of the "working group on the citizenship law of the GDR," which is concerned with travel and emigration problems, has been vastly affected by the arrests. Apart from this, a series of independent group members had for a time been placed under house arrest on Sunday.

According to Federal Minister for Intra-German Relations Dorothee Wilms (CDU), the arrests clearly show the world how things stand regarding freedom of opinion

and freedom to demonstrate in the GDR. Apparently the words of Rosa Luxemburg, "freedom is always the freedom of he who thinks differently," are unbearable for the GDR's system. The minister also criticized the hindering of journalists' work and said that such infringements do not promote a good atmosphere in intra-German relations. [passage omitted]

Among those who had still not been released by early this afternoon is the singer Stephan Krawczyk, informed circles said. It appears that together with others, he was arrested on Sunday morning shortly after leaving his flat. Krawczyk, who has been banned from public appearances by the state for the past 2 and 1/2 years, intended to take along a placard with the demand "down with the job denial practice in the GDR," it was said.

Most Detainees Remain Unreleased

LD182111 Hamburg DPA in German 1856 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Excerpts] East Berlin (DPA)—The majority of the members of independent groups arrested in East Berlin Sunday when they tried to join an official rally with their own banners had still not been released up to this evening. It was learned from the groups that so far the names of 83 of those arrested by the security authorities have become known. Meanwhile, 21 people have been released. [passage omitted]

During a talk at the State Secretariat for Church Affairs today, representatives of the Evangelical Church Directorates were assured that the state action was not directed against church groups. At a briefing with members of church groups, Consistorial President Manfred Stolpe said, it was subsequently reported, that the church representatives had urged level-headedness on the part of the state authorities, too. For example, there should be clear guidelines for the processing of applications for exit visas.

Dignitaries Attend Rally

LD171328 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1217 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] East Berlin, 17 Jan (ADN)—Over 200,000 Berliners took part on Sunday in the great rally in honor of the worker leaders Rosa Luxemburg and Karl Liebknecht, who were murdered 69 years ago.

Together with Erich Honecker and Egon Krenz the following were among those attending the rally: members of the SED Politburo Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Hermann Axen; Guenter Mittag; Guenter Schabowski; Harry Gerlach, chairman of the LDPD [Liberal Democratic Party of Germany], and Dr Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the DBD [Democratic Peasants Party], as well as Professor Dr Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front.

Krenz Speaks at Rally

DW171213 East Berlin Television Service in German 0834 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Speech by Egon Krenz, Politburo member and SED Central Committee secretary, at a rally at the Socialist Memorial in Berlin-Friedrichsfelde to mark the 68th anniversary of the assassination of Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg—live—no video available]

[Text] Dear people of Berlin, dear friends and comrades: in January every year, we rally by the hundreds of thousands at this Socialist Memorial to honor Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg. We bow to their highest dedication to work, bread, and international peace. We are proud to confirm our loyalty to their revolutionary legacy. We have sworn to Karl Liebknecht, and we extend our hands to Rosa Luxemburg in a spirit saying that by word and deed we will serve socialism and peace.

This year 7 decades ago, Karl Liebknecht proclaimed the socialist republic from the balcony of the Berlin castle. Reaction responded with bloody terror. It slew Karl and Rosa, so as to destroy the German proletariat's hopes for a socialist future. Struggles had to be fought at great cost of human lives, and defeats to be overcoem, before the fundamental change in German history was allowed to take place. In October 1949, 30 years following Karl Liebknecht's final unyielding words—despite everything—the idea of a socialist republic began to become reality on German soil. In free self-determination, the GDR people voted for socialism forever.

Rosa Luxemburg at her time had asked: What else is the fatherland but the improvement of prosperity, the improvement of morality, the improvement of the intellectual forces of the people's masses. Today we have such a fatherland—our GDR. Here the improvement of the people's prosperity in the unity of economic and social policy is the centerpiece of all efforts. Here the socialist morality guarantees to everybody the human right to work. Here the people's intellectual forces are improved by means of equal educational opportunities for everybody. Here policy is not made against the people, but for them and together with them. Here everybody has a secure existence and clear socialist prospects.

Every year, our combat rally is a demonstration of our desire for peace. Karl Liebknecht's resolute no to war credit grants is continued by our resolute yes to detente and disarmament, dialogue and international cooperation. His words—if you want peace you have to prepare for socialism—are reflected in our mass movement—my work place is my place of struggle for peace. His passionate call—stop the war—laid the foundations of a powerful antimiltarist movement.

That tradition has been continued by the motto-Now More Than Ever, Everything for the Strengthening of Socialism and the Ensuring of Peace—with which Comrade Erich Honecker called for intensified efforts in the peace struggle after NATO had begun to deploy its missiles in 1983. Friends and comrades, that struggle has been worthwhile. This year we are visiting Karl's and Rosa's graves, stating our agreement to the consistent continuation of the disarmament process initiated by the U.S.-Soviet treaty on the elimination of intermediate-range weapons.

That treaty is an encouraging signal to all peoples on earth. For the first time, weapons are not superseded by weapons, but eliminated as a result of negotiations. It has been proved to the world what can be achieved by common sense and realism for all peoples' benefit.

Of course, the success of common peace efforts does not make us blind to serious counter-tendencies. The risk of nuclear catastrophe still exists. NATO continues to build up armaments against socialism's peace program. Our desire for stable security for everyone and peaceful cooperation with everyone is countered by the old course of confrontation. Nonetheless, international politics has started moving. The struggle for secure peace is now more than ever the responsibility of all countries—big or small.

The peace forces on all continents are called upon to prevent those from undercutting the hopes connected with the Washington agreement who are trying to replace disarmament by restructuring their weapons programs or even by building up new armaments. The slogans on the banners in the kilomenter-long procession of the demonstration today confirm our common position, that the first real disarmament step should now be followed by further moves.

The objectives are halving offensive strategic weapons and strengthening the ABM treaty, drastically reducing conventional weapons and forces, and banning chemical weapons. It is indeed a german peace message in the new year for Erich Honecker to advocate on our people's behalf the denuclearization of the GDR and the FRG and the continuation of theprocess of arms limitation and disarmament now, without any interruption and without any ifs and buts.

We restate today that we believe in the categorical imperative of nuclear age that beyond all existing political differences we have to try and find common interests and act jointly. That has also been impressively confirmed to all the world by Erich Honecker's state visit to the Netherlands, the FRG, Belgium, and recently France. Those meetings at the highest level are practical evidence of our political position that equal, peaceful cooperation should forever rank first in European politics.

Thus a common European house could grow as a house of peaceful neighborhood for all countries, in which the inviolability of borders, the respect for the countries' sovereignty and territorial integrity, independence and equality, and non-interference in their internal affairs would be part of the accepted rules.

In our struggle for lasting peace we never forget the warning Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg left us. It is the realization that wars and the danger of war are rooted in the capitalist system. Utmost all-round vigilance contines to be necessary. Those who claim that the danger of war comes from the East consciously do not speak the truth. What comes from the East are intiatives for a future in which international peace becomes mainkind's normal lifestyle. That is what we work for and live for, and that is what our soliders stand peace guard for.

Our immortal comrades-in-arms Karl and Rosa crowned their combat-tested lives with founding the Communist Party of Germany. We are with Marx again and under his banner, Rosa Luxemburg stated passionately at the KPD's founding congress. We never gave that banner away. We continue the socialist revolution under the banner of Marx, Engels, and Lenin, and connect the advantages of socialism with the achievements of the scientific-technological revolution. Under that banner, we creatively tackle all problems of life today. Under that banner, we proudly look at the revolutionary history of the German worker movement, at what we have created, and at what remains to be done to implement the ideals of socialsm in life lastingly.

Dear people of Berlin: Just as Karl Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg confirmed their loyalty to the young Soviet state and to the titanic beginnings of socialist building in the world, we are a reliable member of the fraternal alliance of one-sixth part of the earth which today more than ever is for the world a symbol of aggressive peace policy, creative socialist construction work, and international humanist responsibility.

The link of indestructible friendship with the country and party of Lenin extends from one generation to the next. That friendship is for us a matter of our hearts and an avowal of deeds. The recent meetings between Erich Honecker and Mikhail Gorbachev have again confirmed that. We have started the new year in the firm coviction that it will be another year of peaceful work. Our people's experience that secure peace requires a strong socialsism will also in 1988 determine our action. It is a year marked by big challenges for all of us. Its success will be decisive for our current 5-year plan.

The 5th SED Central Committee plenum has given a clear orientation of how to reach our common ambitious goals by joint work. We rely on the working people's creative skills and efficiency. We rely on the proven trusting relationship between the party and people. We rely on the alliance with the Soviet Union and the other

socialist states and on cooperation with all forces interested in peace. We fulfill Karl Liebknecht's and Rosa Luxemburg's revolutionary legacy by every deed for our GDR, for socialism and peace.

Even though Karl and Rosa were killed, their exemplary life and their revolutionary ideals have called millions to the banner of socialism. Things have not worked out the way their murderers had planned. The schemes and illusions of the enemies of socialism will also in the future never materialize. The worker-peasant power and all our people guarantee that. Proudly and firmly, our ship follows a straight course to its destination. Its compass unshakably points out the policy adopted by the 11th SED Cvongress in the interests of the people's wellbeing and international peace.

Long live our GDR, the common work of every generation, class, and section of our people; Long live the peoples' common struggle for a peaceful future of our globe; (applause]

Daily Denounces Statement by FRG Official
AU151424 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jan 88 p 2

[H.K. commentary: "Mr W. Stands in the Way"]

[Text] Amid a strong international response, Erich Honecker in his New Year message, explained the consequences the GDR is drawing from the situation which is emerging following the elimination of the U.S. and Soviet medium-range missiles. We are in favor of steps that liberate the GDR and FRG from nuclear weapons, he stated. This would mean that nuclear missiles with a range of below 500 km, including nuclear combat weapons, will also disappear from the soil of both German states and that existing asymmetries are to be eliminated by disarmament. And neither side should initiate any form of "modernization" of nuclear weapons.

The appeal of these proposals is great. In opinion polls at the end of 1987, some 80 percent of the population in the FRG expressed the view that all weapons of mass destruction should disappear from German soil. FRG politicians such as President von Weizsaecker, Chancellor Kohl, Dregger [CDU/CSU lower house group chairman], Ruehe [CDU/CSU deputy floor leader], and others pointed out that the alleged "special nuclear threat to the FRG by Soviet short-range missiles" must be eliminated. Thus, a third zero option should be a primary concern for the FRG as well.

Statements, however, which call for fresh "counterarmament" show that there are still forces that are not able to abandon old stereotypes. State Secretary Wuerzbach (CDU) in the Defense Ministry, for example, expressly "warns" of the "danger of the denuclearization of Europe." The absence of nuclear weapons in both German states does not provide the "least bit more" security, he said. It is not a question of where the weapons are deployed, but of "where they are aimed."

This, however, is the most arrant attempt to dupe people. The following examples demonstrate this:

1. How should central Europe, for example, defend itself against incoming intercontinental nuclear missiles (which is theoretically possible, but useless from a military point of view)? And is it really a question of "defense"? NATO generals have openly admitted that tactical weapons should serve so-called deterrence. The core of this strategy, however, is the nuclear first strike.

2. A wide nuclear-free strip from Northern to Southern Europe would represent a security zone in the case of incidents, one which does not exist today. In this way, early-warning periods and communication possibilities would also be created, particularly between the decision-making centers of the two German states. Is this a little in terms of the security policy?

3. The attack on denuclearization is based on the much-hackneyed lie about the threat. But why should the Smviet Union launch nuclear missiles on a nuclear-free flourishing FRG? How can the "necessity" of nuclear weapons on FRG territory be "explained" in view of the recent statement by Strauss in Moscow that it is absurd today "to be afraid of the offensive and aggressive intention of the Soviet Union"?

Is it the "conventional superiority" of the East, despite the fact that the Warsaw Pact proposals of May 1987 and the most recent proposals by Erich Honecker are directed toward conventional disarmament?

No. People like Wuerzbach have no substantial reason for their deep-rooted dislike of the absence of nuclear weapons and disarmament. They are just standing in the way. Both with regard to the interests of both German states and to security in Europe.

Trade Talks With FRG Conclude With Agreement
LD141724 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1539 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin, 14 Jan (ADN)—In accordance with the joint communique on the official visit by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, to the FRG from 7-11 September 1987, negotiations have been held on a commercial level between the relevant GDR foreign trade enterprise and the energy supply companies of the FRG and of Berlin (West). Agreement was reached on the conclusion of an agreement on the management of fundamental issues on the supply and transmission of electricity and on the creation of the technological facilities necessary for this.

This framework agreement was initialed in Berlin (West) today and will be signed, giving it legal validity, in the capital of the GDR when the agreement has been given the necessary approval by the relevant governments.

Further on Official Visit of FRG's Rau

Discusses Trade With Mittag

LD141756 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1529 GMT 14 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin 14 Jan (ADN)—There has been a meeting between Johannes Rau, prime minister of North Rhine-Westphalia and deputy chairman of the SPD, and Guenter Mittag, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, at a working lunch hosted by Dr Hans Otto Braeutigam, head of the FRG Permanent Mission. GDR foreign Trade Minister Gerhard Beil also took part.

During the talks between Guenter Mittag and Johannes Rau, there was agreement in stressing that, as a result of the official visit to the FRG last September by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, further possibilities for the expansion of mutual relations between the GDR and the FRG, especially in the sphere of trade and economic relations, had opened up, in which the FRG state of North Rhine-Westphalia is especially playing an important part.

Guenter Mittag explained to Johannes Rau the good results of the GDR's economic development that could be registered for 1987. It showed that the policy of unifying social and economic policy, decided upon by the 11th SED Congress, was being purposefully continued. The objectives set for the year 1988 are also aimed at this. He especially stressed the qualitative changes in the structure of production, the close interaction of engineering and microelectronics, and emphasized that on this solid basis the GDR could boast good conditions for the further development of economic trade relations, particularly also with companies in the FRG Land of North Rhine-Westphalia. This includes a considerable number of highly efficient medium-sized enterprises.

For his part, Johannes Rau stressed the interest of the economy of the Land North Rhine-Westphalia in the further development of trade with GDR combines and foreign trade enterprises. He reaffirmed the desire of the Land government for the promotion of this trade and in so doing referred to the participation of a great number of firms in the 1988 Leipzig Spring Trade Fair.

The talk between Guenter Mittag and Johannes Rau was marked by a desire on both sides to make into a pracitcal reality what had been agreed during the official visit by Erich Honecker to the FRG, on the basis of equal rights and mutual advantage.

Meets Art Academy Officials

LD151817 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1539 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Excerpts] Berlin, 15 Jan (ADN)—At the invitation of Dr Manfred Wekwerth, the president of the GDR Academy of Arts, there was a meeting in Berlin Friday with Johannes Rau, the prime minister of the FRG's North Rhine-Westphalia, and his entourage. On the academy side, the meeting was attended by the members of the Presidium and of the academy, as well as other senior staff. [passage omitted]

In a lively discussion in which Johannes Rau also spoke, there was broad agreement that it is well conceivable that there will be further opportunities for developing relations based on respect for the existing agreements and social relations between the two German states. The exhibition of the work of Joseph Beuys, which opened the previous day, demonstrates this.

On behalf of the government of North Rhine-Westphalia, Prime Minister Rau thanked the academy for its hospitality and the opportunities offered to hold conversations with many leading artists.

The previous evening, Academy President Dr Wekwerth gave a banquet in the Ermeler House in honor of Prime Minister Rau.

Deputy Minister Receives U.S. Congreesman

LD151957 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1710 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Berlin, 15 Jan (ADN)—Bernhard Neugebauer, deputy GDR minister of foreign affairs, today received Olympia Snowe, member of the U.S. House of Representatives and its Foreign Policy Committee.

Bernhard reaffirmed GDR's standpoint that a responsible dialogue between states with different social orders and allegiances is of particular importance, especially in the present international situation.

The GDR regards the further development of the exchange of political views and of relations with the United States to contribute in the improvement of the world political situation. Continuous contacts between governments and parliaments of both states promote mutual understanding and strengthen trust. The two sides favored the further development of contacts on various levels and the expansion of bilateral cooperation between the GDR and the United States.

In the course of the discussion of various aspects of international security, issues concerning international terrorism were raised.

Bernhard Neugebauer said that the GDR rejects and condemns any threat and use of force in international relations, including state terrorism and all other terrorist activities. Olympia Snowe outlined the views of the United States.

The meeting was attended by Francis Meehan, U.S. ambassador to the GDR, and Dr Herbert Barth, head of the USA, [Canada and Japan] Department in the GDR Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Press Statement on GDR-USSR Commission
AU151807 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 14 Jan 88 p 6

["Press Statement on the 41st Session of the Joint Government Commission" held from 11-13 January 1988: "Long-term Prospects of Cooperation Between GDR and USSR Will Be Further Worked Out"]

[Text] East Berlin (ADN)—From 11-13 January 1988 the 41st session of the Joint Government Commission for economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR took place in Berlin. The delegations were headed by Gerhard Schuerer, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, and by Aleksey Antonov, member of the CPSU Central Committee and deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers.

The Commission's meeting focused on the consistent implementation of the agreements that were concluded by Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. In this connection, great importance was accorded to the tasks to further develop and deepen economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR, which were agreed on in the deliberations of the party and government delegations from both countries in Moscow on 23 June 1987. On Monday [11 January] Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received Aleksey Antonov, chairman of the Soviet part of the Joint Government Commission, for a friendly talk. During the extensive exchange of views, both politicians concurrently expressed the firm conviction that the fraternal alliance between the two parties and peoples will be further strengthened by consistently implementing the agreements concluded at the highest level. Erich Honecker stressed the great responsibility of the Joint Government Commission for the new, future-oriented projects of cooperation in science, technology, and economy. Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, had a friendly meeting with the chairmen and members of both sides of the Commission.

Aiming at further working out and setting down the long-term prospects of cooperation between the GDR and the USSR, the Joint Government Commission decided on measures to work out a long-term concept of economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the two countries. At the same time, decisions for the preparation and execution of the coordination of the 1991-95 national economic plans were made.

The stable basis of this work are the Long-term Program of Cooperation in the Fields of Science, Technology, and Production between the GDR and the USSR Through the Year 2000; the branch programs agreed between the ministries; and the government and ministerial agreements on research and production cooperation. The focal point of the agreed joint work is to comprehensively meet the requirements posed on the development and introduction of the key technologies microelectronics, computer technology—including CAD/CAM solutions—biotechnology, new materials, and new processing technologies.

The Commission discussed the level of fulfillment of the tasks from the comprehensive program of scientific-technological progress of the CEMA member states through the year 2000 with regard to bilateral cooperation between the GDR and the USSR. It noted that the state management and planning of both countries decided on measures to fulfill the accepted pledges punctually and in the required quality. Numerous combines, associations, enterprises, and scientific-technological institutions from both sides are participating in fulfilling the tasks of the comprehensive program.

The focal points of cooperation in the field of microelectronics were discussed at the session. In a protocol to the existing government agreement on cooperation, joint tasks and tasks with division of labor were agreed on to develop new large-scale and very large-scale integrated circuits and microcomputer systems.

Concerning the state of direct relations, the Commission noted that more than 120 agreements have been concluded between GDR combines and enterprises and USSR production associations and enterprises, which contain fixed-term work programs for direct scientific-technological and production cooperation. It was noted that direct relations are gaining increasing importance in line with the accelerated development and application of key technologies and the introduction of scientific-technological top achievements into production.

At the Commission session the directors general of the Textima and Printing Combines of the GDR and of the production associations for sewing machines and printing machinery construction of the USSR reported on focal projects of rationalization, development of technology and products, safeguarding quality, and production cooperation, which are carried out within the framework of their direct relations.

Proceeding from the good results that have been achieved, it was decided at the session to prepare agreements on direct relations between further combines and production associations

In an accord signed at the session, the GDR minister of glass and ceramics and the USSR minister of light industry agreed on cooperation in intensifying the production of china and earthen-ware dishes, in particular by introducing new technological solutions.

A protocol to the government agreement on cooperation in the field of the nitrogen fertilizer industry agrees on measures for production in the form of production cooperation, based on the positive test results of new substances in agriculture.

The GDR and USSR ministers of chemical industry signed a protocol on continuing the long-standing, successful research cooperation in the field of high-pressure polyethylene and its copolymers. It envisages the continuation of the joint work to intensify the Plymir Plants in Leuna and Nowopolotsk.

In the VEB Robotron Combine, Dresden, Gerhard Schuerer and Aleksey Antonov, chairmen of the two parts of the Government Commission, as well as ministers and other leading figures from state organs, combines, and research institutions from both countries acquainted themselves with results achieved in fulfilling the tasks of the CEMA comprehensive program and the bilateral agreement between the GDR and the USSR on research and production cooperation in the field of computer technology. They dealt with the long-term tasks of developing new generations of computers and peripheral equipment, including that for CAD/CAM solutions. At the same time, they discussed measures to further deepen cooperation—from the basis of component parts to the manufacture of equipment systems and their mutual delivery.

During the session Commission members from both countries discussed in combines, enterprises, and institutes the state of the implementation of earlier agreements and new tasks of cooperation.

The following people participated in the deliberations of the 41st session of the Joint Government Commission for economic and scientific-technological cooperation between the GDR and the USSR:

From the GDR: Herbert Weiz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, minister of science and technology, and deputy chairman of the GDR part of the Commission; Guenter Ehrensperger, department head of the SED Central Committee; Otto Arndt, minister of transport; Rudi Georgi, minister of machine tool and processing machinery building; Guenther Wyschofsky, minister of chemical industry; Karl Gruenheid, minister of glass and ceramics; Hans-Joachim Lauck, minister of heavy machine construction and installation construction; Felix Meier, minister of electrical engineering and electronics; Kurt Singhuber, minister of ore mining, metallurgy, and potash; Peter Grabley, state secretary in the State Planning Commission; Klaus Stubenrauch, state secretary in the Ministry of Science and Technology; Eduard Schwierz, deputy minister of foreign trade; Karl-Heinz Richter, head of the USSR Department of the State Planning Commission; and Karl Mittenzwei, head of the permanent representation of the GDR part of the GDR-USSR Joint government Commission in Moscow.

From the USSR: Kirill Dyumayev, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Science and Technology and deputy chairman of the Soviet part of the Commission; Vyacheslav Kochemasov, USSR ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the GDR; Yuriy Bespalov, minister of chemical industry; Vladislav Kolesnikov, minister of electronics industry; Oleg Tybakov, deputy department head of the CPSU Central Committee; Genrikh Stroganov, deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee; Vladimir Kalchenko, deputy minister of machine tool and tool building industry; Yuriy Koshin, deputy minister of foreign trade; Boris Nikiforov, deputy minister of railways; Ivan Grizenko, deputy minister of light industry; Viktor Neyman, deputy chairman of the State Committee for Computer Technology and Information Science; Stanislav Dorokhin, deputy minister of mineral fertilizer production; Anatoliy Smirnov, deputy minister of instrument making, automation equipment, and control systems; and Aleksey Chubarenko, head of the permanent representation of the Soviet part of the Commission in Berlin.

Honecker Sends Message to 'Arafat

LD182049 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1724 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Baghdad, 18 Jan (ADN)—The reply from Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and GDR State Council chairman to a message from Yasir 'Arafat on developments in the Arab areas illegally occupied by Israel has been conveyed by Otto Becker, GDR ambassador to the Republic of Iraq, to Yasir 'Arafat, chairman of the PLO Executive Committee. Yasir 'Arafat received the ambassador in Baghdad for a friendly discussion.

In his reply, Erich Honecker strongly condemns the latest serious acts of terrorism by Tel Aviv in the Arab areas occupied by Israel, which have led to numerous victims among the Arab civilian population. He came out against the deportation of Palestinians from the occupied areas, as is being practiced by Israel. This represents a flagrant violation of international law and a crude disregard of the resolution recently unanimously adopted by the UN Security Council.

Erich Honecker reaffirms that the GDR will continue to stand in firm solidarity at the side of the Palestinian people and the PLO in the just struggle to realize their inalienable national rights.

The current situation in the occupied Arab areas makes a comprehensive and just settlement of the Near East conflict by an international conference, under the auspices of the United Nations, even more urgent. The GDR reaffirms its view that the PLO should take part on the basis of equal rights. A comprehensive and just settlement of the Near East conflict is inconceivable without ensuring the right to self-determination for the Palestinian people. The GDR will consolidate its friendly relations with the PLO.

Yasir 'Arafat expressed thanks for the renewed proof of the GDR's solidarity with the Palestinian people and the PLO, and asked that his greetings and sincere wishes for the further successful development of the GDR be conveyed to Erich Honecker.

Hager, SED Delegation Meet PCI Officials

LD161828 East Berlin ADN International Service in German 1528 GMT 16 Jan 88

[Text] Rome, 16 Jan (ADN)—The SED delegation headed by Kurt Hager, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, which is in Italy at the invitation of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party [PCI], had a friendly meeting in Rome on Saturday with a PCI delegation headed by Giorgio Napolitano, member of the national executive.

At the center of the extensive exchange of views which took place in a spirit of the traditional fraternal relations between the two parties, were current issues of the international situation and the policy of the SED and PCI. The two sides briefed one another about the activities of their parties in the fight to safeguard peace, for disarmament, detente, and peaceful cooperation between peoples. They underlined the historic importance of the agreement between the USSR and United States concerning the destruction of medium-range missiles and the need not to let up in the struggle for disarmament.

The removal of short-range nuclear missiles with a range of up to 500 kms. and the start of negotiations on the reduction of conventional armed forces and armaments on our continent is particularly urgent so that the European house will become free of threats and a house of peaceful coexistence among states and peoples.

The exchange of views will be continued over the next few days commensurate with the visiting program. Before the start of the talks Kurt Hager was ceremoniously presented by Giuliano Pajetta, member of the PCI Central Committee, with the commemorative medal of the Italian Association of Antifascist Fighters in Spain, which is issued to mark the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Civil War.

The meeting at the seat of the PCI Central Committee was attended, from the PCI said by the members of the national executive, Paolo Bufanlini and Antonio Rubbi, head of the PCI Central Committee Foreign Department, and Tiziana Arista, member of the Central Committee; from the SED side, by Otto Reinhold, member of the Central Committee and rector of the Academy of Social Sciences of the SED Central Committee; Kurt Raetz, department head at the Central Committee; Heinz Lehmann, deputy head of the International Relations Department of the Central Committee; Lutz Maier, deputy director of the International Politics and Economics Institute, and GDR Ambassador Dr. Wolfgang Kiesewetter.

Trade Protocol Signed With Vietnam in Berlin

BK151644 Hanoi VNA in English 1445 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Hanoi VNA Jan 15—A protocol on goods exchange and payments between Vietnam and the German Democratic Republic bas signed in Berlin yesterday [14 January] by Vietnamese and GDR Deputy Ministers of Foreign Trade Le Kim Lang and Jochen Steyer.

Under the protocol, the GDR will supply Vietnam with industrial and technical equipment, and Vietnam will export to the GDR agricultural and forestry products and fine arts articles. The total value of goods exchange this year will be higher than 1987.

Both Le Kim Lang and Jochen Steyer qualified the protocol as an important contribution to the development of the cooperation between the two countries.

Leaders' Public Appearances 7-13 January

AU151409 [Editorial Report] East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German from 8 to 14 January reports the following public appearances of GDR leaders (date of publication in parentheses):

The following GDR leaders attended the signing of the protocol on the results of the discussions of the 41st session of the Joint GDR-USSR Government Commission in East Berlin on 13 January: SED Central Committee Politburo members Willi Stoph, chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers; Werner Jarowinsky, secretary of the Central Committee; Guenther Kleiber, deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers and permanent GDR representative in the CEMA; and Werner Krolikowski, first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers. (14 January, p 1)

Hans-Joachim Boehme, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Halle SED Bezirk leadership, visited the Halle-Neustadt Plate Works on 7 January. (8 January, p 4)

Oskar Fischer, GDR Minister of foreign affairs, received Al-Kilani Dau Abdallah, secretary of the People's Committee of the People's Bureau of the Great Socialist People's Libyan Arab Jamahiriya, in East Berlin on 11 January. (12 January, p 2)

Horst Dohlus, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, presented congratulations from the SED Central Committee to Guetner Glende, director of the Administration of Economic Enterprises Department, on his 70th birthday in East Berlin on 11 January. (12 January, p 2)

Kurt Hager, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee, presented birthday congratulations from the SED Central Committee to Ernst Diehl, deputy director of the Marxism-Leninism Institute, in East Berlin on 8 January. (9-10 January, p 5)

Army General Heinz Kessler, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and GDR minister of national defense, received Colonel General Miroslav Vacek, first CSSR deputy minister of national defense and chief of the General Staff of the Czechoslovak People's Army, in East Berlin on 13 January. (14 January, p 2) Heinz Kessler received a delegation of the CSSR Union for Cooperation with the Army headed by its chairman Lieutenant General Dr Vaclav Horacek in East Berlin on 13 January. (14 January, p 2)

Guenter Mittag, Politburo member and secretary of the SED Central Committee Politburo, met with Edouard Balladur, state minister of economy, finance, and privatization, in Paris on 8 January. (9-10 January, p 4) Guenter Mittag met with leading representatives of the French economy in Paris on 8 January. (9-10 January, p 4)

Gerhard Mueller, candidate member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and first secretary of the Erfurt SED Bezirk leadership, addressed a party aktiv meeting of the VEB "Wilhelm Pieck" Microelectronics in Muhlhausen on 11 January. (12 January, p 3) Gerhard Mueller attended an exchange of experiences of cooperative peasants in Sondershausen on 13 January. (14 January, p 2)

Guenter Schabowski, Politburo member, secretary of the SED Central Committee, and first secretary of the Berlin Bezirk leadership, addressed representatives of the constituency aktivs in East Berlin on 8 January. (9-10 January, p 8) Guenter Schabowski received a delegation headed by Edvard Yershov, first secretary of the CPSU University Party Committee, in East Berlin on 11 January. (12 January, p 8)

Harry Tisch, chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo, and first secretary of the Gera SED Bezirk leadership, addressed a trade union aktiv meeting of the Zeiss Combine in Jena on 8 January. (9-10 January, p 5) Harry Tisch presented congratulations from the SED Central Committee to Lothar Lindner, chairman of the Construction and Wood Industrial Trade Union, on his 60th birthday in East Berlin on 13 January. (14 January, p 2)

Kadar, Nemeth Send Greetings to Husak

AU151411 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 11 Jan 88 p 7

[Text] Janos Kadar, general secretary of the MSZMP, and Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, sent a congratulatory letter to CSSR President Gustav Husak on the occasion of his 75th birthday.

MTI on Situation in Occupied Arab Lands

LD182147 Budapest MTI in English 1917 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 18 (MTI)—MTI has been authorized by competent sources to make the following statement:

The Hungarian general public is filled with concern over the situation prevailing on the Arab land occupied by Israel, and condemns the ruthless treatment applied by the Israeli army against the civil population which had so far led to a large death toll. The mass demonstrations taking place in the occupied Arab land prove that the political settlement of the Middle East conflict can no longer be delayed. In the interest of a just and lasting settlement, collective efforts are required to convene, as soon as possible and on the basis of equal rights, an international peace conference with the participation of the permanent members of the Security Council and all parties concerned including the Palestine Liberation Organization.

Inland Navigation Accord Reached With FRG

LD151526 Budapest MTI in English 1418 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 15, (MTI-Econews)—An agreement between Hungary and West Germany on inland navigation was signed Friday in Budapest by Mr Juergen Warnke, the West German transport minister and his Hungarian counterpart, Mr Lajos Urban.

The agreement regulates the navigation of the countries' ships on each other's waterways, including the Danube-Maine-Rhein canal which will be inaugurated in two or three years.

The construction of the canal is financed solely by West German capital and it is regarded a national West German waterway. It cannot be used without a bilateral agreement with the West German Government.

The first socialist country to sign such an agreement is Hungary.

The agreement comes into force after ratification which is expected to take a year from now.

Fejti, Karpati Attend Commanders Conference

LD151918 Budapest MTI in English 1557 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 15 (MTI)—A commanders' conference was held at the Hungarian Ministry of Defence in Budapest on Friday with high-ranking commanders, party and political activists in attendance. Colonel-General Ferenc Karpati assessed the 1987 work of the Hungarian people's Army and surveyed this year's tasks.

The conference was addressed by Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee. Army General Fedot Krivda, representative in Hungary of the commander-in-chief of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty, was also in attendance.

Economic Upswing in 1987 Reported

LD151343 Budapest MTI in English 1204 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 15 (MTI-ECONEWS)—In 1987 Hungary's economic balance worsened to a lesser extent than it had in the previous two years and even some improvements were observed, government spokesman Rezso Banyasz said.

There was an upswing in both production and company investment. In 1987 the balance of hard-currency payments looked better because of the expansion of tourism and a drop in the deficit of the foreign trade balance. Exports to hard-currency markets met plan targets, though imports increased faster than envisaged, Mr Banyasz said.

No final annual data are available but the latest statistics of the national bank of Hungary show that in the first ten months of 1987 Hungary's hard-currency exports amounted to 3.37 billion dollars, and imports to 3.75 billion. In the same period of 1986 convertible-currency exports totalled 3.27 billion dollars, and imports 3.89 billion.

Preliminary data show that incomes from tourism increased by 160 million dollars, to 520 million last year.

Taking other payments into account, the first ten months of 1987 show a deficit of 957.9 million dollars in the current account in convertible currencies as compared to 1.31 billion in the same period of the previous year and 1.419 billion over the whole of 1986, the National Bank of Hungary reported.

Mr Banyasz said that domestic consumption, and investments in particular, grew faster than planned. "One can only hope that the majority of new investments are indeed priority projects serving the restructuring and modernization of industry", he said.

Mr Banyasz emphasized that some important investment projects for environmental protection were also underway and further ones about to be launched. The first 15-km section of the M-O [as received] bypass around Budapest was being constructed as planned and the preparations for a second section were also underway.

MSZMP Official Interviewed on Party's Role

LD172202 Budapest MTI in English
1834 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 17 (MTI)—Sunday evening the political magazine, "The Week", of the Hungarian television aired an interview with Istvan Petrovszki, head of department of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, on the leading role of the party and the system of political institutions. The interview was given on the occasion that the theses elaborated on the subject by the HSWP CC work committee have been recently discussed by the basic party organizations.

"The party exercises its leading role above all through its policy, by elaborating—according to its historic mission—a policy based on Marxist-Leninist principles and integrating the extremely differentiated interests of society, which marks out the main directions of social development," he said.

He pointed out, "the direction of the change is that we become a policy-making party, do not govern instead of the government, do not draft laws instead of the National Assembly and do not take measures instead of the economic management."

Answering a question, Istvan Petrovszki pointed out, "during hitherto debates, in various publications, etc, there have been views that are incompatible with our position." He added, "In Hungary socialism will be built, and there will be no capitalism. In this country there is people's power and consequently the government, the guidance of society will be carried out, in keeping with its historic mission, by the Marxist-Leninist party of the class exercising power, the people, by the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. If these fundamental issues are touched, the edifice of socialism will collapse, and this is out of the question."

In the end Istvan Petrovszki said the Central Committee will discuss these questions in March. In the first half of the year the Central Committee is to convene a national party conference centered on the leading role of the party and the further development of the system of political institutions.

Lukacs Addresses Workers' Militia Party

LD151955 Budapest MTI in English
1739 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 15 (MTI)—The Jozsef Cseby Workers' Militia unit of Szekszard held its unit rally Friday in Szekszard. Participants evaluated the political, training and workplace activity of the workers' militiamen in the past year.

The unit rally was addressed by Janos Lukacs, secretary of the HSWP Central Committee. He recalled that the workers' militia was founded in early 1957 to take part in safeguarding the achievements of socialism, in the restoration of order, to ensure undisturbed production, and to safeguard the tranquility of the working people. The workers' militia well fulfilled this historic mission, and had a considerable part in the rapid political consolidation.

Society still needs this body. Its existence makes the confidence between the party and the people unanimous to everyone.

The fundamental mission of the workers' militia has not changed: It should participate in safeguarding the constitutional order of Hungary, in defending power, and ensuring the conditions of peaceful creative work. Today, workers' militiamen interpret the defending of power also in the way that they enrich, with their daily value-creating activity, the country and take a stand and fight against the negative occurances. They take a stand for reform, for socialist renewal, and work for the programme of advance of the party and the government.

In the following [as received] the secretary of the Central Committee discussed the tasks arising from the programme of economic and social advance, the government's work programme, and the 1988 national economic plan.

He stressed the importance of creating and maintaining a unity of attitude and action.

In the following [as received] he noted that nothing can give universal guarantees in advance. "We can only create the guarantee of our development jointly, with correct policy, well-considered and firm direction, national cooperation and, most of all, with actions." He added: "The responsibility of the leaders—the higher party and state direction—and the executors is not identical, either in the situation which has developed, nor in advancement." He stressed that good implementation is also needed to attain lasting results, alongside correct decisions.

"The July resolution of the Central Committee is an important document for a long-range", he said. However, the Central Committee does not consider the work carried out for renewal completed with this. It recently discussed ideological issues, and will shortly review the enforcement of the party's leading role in society, the operation mechanism and updating of the political system. We are to hold a national party conference in the first half of the year. The mentioned major events are closely linked to stabilization, to advance, renewal, and are further major stations of the reform process initiated and directed by the party.

"Although we cannot count on rapid and spectacular successes, we can achieve results of political value that strengthen confidence on the short-range, if we are more calculable and consistent", said among others, the secretary of the Central Committee.

Csehak Addressed PPF Council Session

LD152211 Budapest MTI in English
2025 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 15 (MTI)—The Family Protection Council of the Patriotic People's Front held its first session in 1988 Friday in Budapest, and discussed issues related to the social-welfare policy integration.

The opening speech of the debate was delivered by Judit Csehak, member of the HSWP Political committee and minister of social welfare and health. She said that, in general, the new ministry agrees with the social-welfare policy conception worked out with the participation of experts of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences. However, in the light of the government's work programme, it must be examined what pressing tasks exist in social-welfare policy, and whether changes should accordingly be made in the conception. She recalled that the researchers proposed to set up a social-welfare national authority. The creation of the new ministry is a necessary, although not sufficient condition to deal with the social-welfare problems of society, said Judit Csehak.

She noted that the new national authority cannot undertake to deal with all social-welfare tasks, but cannot avoid the thorough analyses of the problems.

The minstry can work successfully if it turns attention to prevention, she stressed. Plans do not envisage the creation of separate organizations within the ministry, the social-welfare and health issues will be dealt with jointly.

It was pointed out in the debate that, lacking due central support, the founding of the society of social-welfare workers has been dragging on for two years. It was also mentioned that the burdens of the social-welfare institutions of the churches have increased with the introduction of the new tax system, which is why the operation of a part of these has become endangered.

MSZMP's Nemeth Addresses KISZ CC

LD161952 Budapest MTI in English
1815 GMT 16 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 16 (MTI)—The Saturday session of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary (KISZ) discussed in Budapest the important tasks facing KISZ this year and the renewal of the youth movement.

Csaba Hamori, first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, informed the body on the discussion of the government and KISZ leaders in early December. He stressed this meeting has proved to be a good working method, and similar conferences are to be held every year in the future. On the proposals of the "Our Future Is at Stake" action launched last year, he stated although the government has not yet replied to all of the proposals, their great majority have answered the efforts of the party and the Government and been integrated into the various programmes. [sentence as received]

Addressing the session, Miklos Nemeth, secretary of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, expressed his thanks to KISZ for the organization of the "Our Future Is at Stake" campaign and for the relevant proposals worked out towards implementation of the programme of socio-economic advancement. He outlined the tasks ahead and asked for the help of KISZ and all young people in their accomplishment for the sake of the continuation of the reform policy.

The session adopted the 1988 budget of the youth organization: This year KISZ has 1,358 million forints at its disposal, 10-12 per cent less than last year in terms of real value.

Havasi Addresses Agricultural Cooperatives

LD152049 Budapest MTI in English
2000 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 15 (MTI)—The end of the year general assemblies of agricultural cooperatives began Friday. In accordance with the traditions, the first general assembly analyzing the results and problems of 1987 was held in the Aranykalasz Agricultural Cooperative of Aszar.

The meeting was addressed by Ferenc Havasi, member of the Political Committee of the HSWP and first secretary of the Budapest Party Committee.

The Aranykalasz Agricultural Cooperative of Aszar farms on 2,800 hectares, and has been among the top cooperatives for years: in spite of the harsh winter, the inland waters in spring, and the drought, the common property further increased, similarly to the income of the membership. The best results were recorded in maize production, with per hectare average yields of 8.2 tons. The pig stock of the cooperative increased, and their meat sales in 1987 were the highest in the 28 years of the cooperative's existence.

According to the preliminary balance of the National Council of Cooperatives, the results attained in Aszar are rather exceptional. The 1987 production value of the 1,390 common farms (which include, alongside the cooperatives, the fishing cooperatives, the agricultural specialized cooperatives and the common companies of the cooperatives) is smaller than planned, totalling only some 255,000 million forints, and the profits of the units decreased by approximately 10 per cent. Most of the farms were not able to repeat their former results, and

there were indications of a standstill also in the development of the best farms. About one-third of the common farms can be ranked in this category.

In totality, agricultural production in 1987 decreased by 4 per cent as compared to the previous year, mostly due to the extreme weather, mainly the drought, which particularly had adverse effects on the production of cereals. As a consequence of the recurring frosts of vineyards over the past years, harvested yields were lower and losses in fruit production were also considerable. Animal breeders made successful efforts to further increase the 1986 results of the pig and poultry branch. This was not, however, achieved in cattle and sheep breeding, as stocks decreased in both branches.

In spite of the problems, the investments of the common farms in 1987 totalled 23,000 million forints, which is 25 per cent higher than in the previous year.

Marothy Meets Conservation Delegation

LD152210 Budapest MTI in English 2030 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Budapest, January 15 (MTI)—A delegation of the International Union for Conservation of Nature and Natural Resources (IUCN), led by Daniel Navid, director of foreign relations, held talks in Hungary January 14-15.

At talks with leaders of the Ministry of Environmental Protection and Water Management, discussion focused on Hungarian participation in the East European programmes of IUCN. The sides reviewed the Hungarian implementation of the tasks arising from the agreement on the protection of the fauna.

The delegation met Laszlo Marothy, member of the HSWP Political Committee and minister of environmental protection and water management.

Official on Establishment of Data Bank

AU151527 Budapest MAGYAR HIRLAP in Hungarian 8 Jan 88 p 6

[Interview with Sandor Aladics, chairman of a department at the National Technological Development Committee, signed by "Palugyai": "In the Spirit of the Government's Program—Data Banks-Through Bidding"; date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] [Aladics] It will be impossible to conduct research and development in the 1990's without data. Hungary realizes clearly that it will be pointless to try to establish data banks on an international scale, but we should widen the potential to have access to large foreign data centers and increase our participation in data exchange processes. In addition, however, we need our own data bases which will supply the Hungarian technological intelligentsia and decision-making managers alike with domestic professional information which, in certain cases, will be at the disposal of practically anybody as a public service.

[Palugyai] What kind of information will it be?

[Aladics] The people concerned will be able to obtain relevant reviews on research projects currently under way and the stage they have reached, on competitive biddings related to research, and on data that can contribute to making timely decisions. At the same time, the assistance provided by such data will enable research workers and research groups to come closer to each other, and get in touch with each other and dispatch messages and data quickly; it will also reduce the administrative duties of the research and development staff.

[Palugyai] All this sounds very good, but when will this become reality?

[Aladics] [passage omitted] We made the first bid for the construction of a data base public in the spring of 1987 and we are now at the end of this stage. We received 118 bids worth 800 million forints; 34 of the bids received support worth 75 million forints, form the national National Technological Development Committee and it is to be hoped that these 34 data bases, some of which are already being constructed, will be completed by the end of 1988. Another round of competitive bidding could come in 1989-90, but it is possible that this stage will be public. [passage omitted]

[Palugyai] Would you mention some of the data banks to be established?

[Aladics] The most important will be the integrated research and development information system, which will keep records of every announced Hungarian research project and will contribute to eliminating superfluous, duplicate projects. There will be data banks for environment and environment protection, electronics, records of patents, biotechnology, and also several bibliographical data banks. The Technical University, the Center of Industrial Information, the Agroinform enterprise, the National Sechenyi Library, the National Technological Center and Library, and the National Patent Office are among the successful bidders.

[Palugyai] What are the technological requirements for the development of this system?

[Aladics] The computers to be bought will be IBM and ESR [ESR] compatibles; this means that we will be able to hook them up with computer networks in the West and the CEMA countries. [passage omitted]

Leaders' Public Appearances 7-13 January

AU151433 [Editorial report] Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian from 8-14 January reports on the public appearances of the following leaders between 7-13 January (date and page number of each report is given in parentheses):

Miklos Ovari, member of the MSZMP Politburo and secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid a 2-day visit to Heves county on 6-7 January. (8 Jan p 4)

Ferenc Havasi, member of the MSZMP Politburo and first secretary of the Budapest MSZMP Committee, participated in a session of the Workers' Guards unit of Budapest's 13th district, held on the occasion of the New Year in Budapest; date not given. (9 Jan p 4) He also participated in a general session of the Budapest MSZMP Committee on 11 January. (12 Jan p 5)

Csaba Hamori, member of the MSZMP Politburo and first secretary of the KISZ Central Committee, paid a visit to Somogy County on 13 January. (14 Jan p 5)

Gyorgy Fejti, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, paid a 2-day visit to Gyor-Sopron County on 12-13 January. (14 Jan p 5)

Jaruzelski Attends PRON Debates

New General Secretary Elected

LD190122 Warsaw PAP in English
2120 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 18—The National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON began two-day debates today with leaders of the signatories to the movement, including Wojciech Jaruzelski and Roman Malinowski, taking part.

On the first day of the debates, presided over by Jan Dobraczynski, the National Council of PRON discussed proposals of amendments to the law on elections to people's councils, adopted the movement's stand on this matter and tabled it to the Council of State and the SEJM (parliament).

Stanislow Ciosek was elected new general secretary of the National Council of PRON. The stand adopted by the National Council illustrates the movement's view on the proposed amendments to the electoral law. The entry contained in the proposals of the Council of State dealing with the 50 percent turnout requirement, was put to a separate vote. 33 people voted against it, with 5 abstentions.

The second point of the debates' agenda included organizational matters.

In connection with the nomination of the National Council's General Secretary Jerzy Swiderski to the post of head of the Department of Cadre Policies of the PUWP CC, the National Council accepted his resignation from the post held in PRON thus far.

Jozef Czyrek, acting on behalf of all the signatories to the movement and in the name of the Presidium of the Executive Committee of the National Council, recommended PUWP CC Secretary Stanislaw Ciosek as candidate for the post of general secretary of the National Council and member of the Presidium of the Executive Committee. The National Council voted in favour, with 252 votes for and 36 abstentions.

Winding up the debates of the first day, Michal Janiszewski, the head of the office of the Council of Ministers, briefed the participants on the implementation of the cadre policy stemming from the real needs and conditions of social, economic and political development.

Tuesday will be the second day of debates. The national Council of PRON will take a stand on the conditions for the development of agriculture, the countryside and the food industry in Poland.

Draft Changes to Electoral Law

LD190130 Warsaw PAP in English
2020 GMT 18 Jan 88

["PRON Stance on Changes in Electoral Law—(Main Points)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 18—The "Guidelines for Changes in the People's Councils Electoral Law" produced by the Council of State include proposals constituting another step towards the materialization of goals formulated in the resolution of the 2nd Congress of the PRON (Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth). They concern first and foremost:

—Resignation from the candidate preference system,

—Promotion of active attitudes of the electorate (secured by the criterion of vote's validity and the obligatory secrecy of voting).

Despite unequivocal support for the proposals in question, the citizens pointed in the discussion to the possiblity of a different approach to many questions dealt with in the guidelines. Many of these proposals were an inspiration for us while formulating the present position.

The PRON has found the adopted deadline of January 15th by which opinions and motions are accepted as too short. Various opinions were voiced about the institution of election colleges, and therefore, we think their activities should be made as objective as possible.

The election law should define the procedure of appointing the colleges. The formula of their constituting themselves is unclear. We propose that the colleges be appointed by PRON councils of the respective level.

The election law should expand the group of organizations able to place their activists on the colleges. The colleges should register candidates named by the resolution-passed organs of the eligible organizations and fix the final list of candidates in agreement with those recommending them.

We believe that the range of subjects eligible to propose their candidates for local council members should be expanded by:

—pre-election meetings of citizens conveyed by resolution-passing organs of town and village self-governments or PRON links.

—PRON councils in towns, city districts, urban-rural communes, and rural communes.

—organizations and local associations (the qualifier "mass" should be abandoned).

Empowering the citizens' conventions working at the voivodship (provincial) people's councils to propose candidates for local councillors seems out of point and untimely. A candidate for local council member should be given support at the pre-election meetings.

An aware and active participation of citizens in the electoral act requires that they really get to know the candidates. We therefore suggest the creation of small electoral districts (not more than three mandates). Limiting the number of candidates running for a mandate (with the relative majority of votes to decide) lacks justification.

We decisively support the alphabetical arrangement of candidates' names on the list and we believe that a possibility should be secured for more than two candidates to run for a mandate. The proposal of maintaining provincial (voivodship) lists met a negative opinion among PRON activists. We believe that it should be given up. But if the legislator decides to keep it, then, according to the intention to liquidate preferences, the number of candidates on those lists should be expanded over the stated number of mandates. They should make no more than 10 per cent of all mandates. The lists should be arranged in alphabetical order.

The obligation to make choice by striking off the voting card has drawn general approval.

We think that a minimum 50-percent turnout should be the criterion of election validity in a district. Under this condition it will be sufficient if a candidate wins by an ordinary majority of votes. This principle permits to increase the number of candidates per one mandate above two. We believe that the institution of the person of trust can stay if the right to assign members to district election committees is granted to pre-election meetings of voters.

The discussion on the guidelines frequently pointed to the necessity to considerably lower the quorum threshold allowing to start the procedure of calling off a councillor.

In its election declaration, the PRON will propose to society the aims on which we should focus our efforts during the next term of local councils, allowing for the new conditions of their functioning which should be secured by the amended law on the system of people's councils and the local self-government.

New General Secretary Profiled

LD190124 Warsaw PAP in English
1913 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 18—Stanislaw Ciosek was born in 1939. PUWP Member from 1960. From 1975 to 1980 first secretary of PUWP Voivodship Committee and head of the Voivodship People's Council in Jelenia Gora. In 1980 appointed minister—member of the Council of Ministers. Minister of labour wages and social affairs in 1983. In 1985, named head of the PUWP CC Social-Legal Department. At 10th PUWP Congress in 1986 elected secretary of the CC. Member of the PRON National Council Executive Committee and of the Government and Episcopate Joint Commission. Sejm deputy during the sixth, seventh and eighth term.

Warsaw Marks 43d Anniversary of Liberation

LD171957 Warsaw PAP in English
1705 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 17—On the 43rd anniversary of the liberation of Warsaw today the capital's residents paid tribute to heroic Polish and Soviet soldiers fallen during the struggle for the city.

Representatives of Warsaw's authorities, social, war veteran and youth organizations, Warsaw enterprises as well as a delegation of Moscow laid wreaths and flowers at the monument to the Warsaw heroes.

Flowers were also laid at the cemetery—mausoleum of the Soviet Army soldiers to commemorate 23 thousand Soviet soldiers who lost their lives during Warsaw liberation.

Also, tribute was paid to nameless heroes who had fallen for the freedom of their homeland—flowers were laid at the tomb of the unknown soldier.

Last Saturday, flowers were laid at other national remembrance sites.

Historian Writes Jaruzelski, Weekly Responds

LD151846 Warsaw PAP in English
1819 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 15—The "POLITYKA" weekly carries the full text of an open letter addressed by historian Jerzy Holzer to the president of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and the leader of Solidarnosc Lech Walesa.

In the letter Holzer wrote, among other things: "Today, it is no longer important how the blame for the past is to be spread. It is only important to ensure that those who can exert an influence on Poland's future meet in a harmonious effort, overcome for even a few years their prejudices and the important differences in views and interests which are in the light of reality losing their significance."

The letter contains the author's personal evaluation of the situation in Poland and carries a proposal of a meeting between Jaruzelski and Walesa.

In an extensive commentary to the letter "POLITYKA's" Deputy Editor-In Chief Zygmunt Szeliga writes, among other things: "Assuming the honesty of Jerzy Holzer's motives and intentions we cannot agree

with his evaluations and the general tone of the letter, evoking a psychosis of fear and endangerment. Such an undertone can raise doubts as to the honesty of intentions."

"Jerzy Holzer proposes a meeting 'without preliminary conditions but with good will'. Those preliminary conditions and the problem of good will are clearly defined. On the side of, generally speaking, the 'authorities' this is the wide road for the active participation in the life of the country of each citizen—but without the revival of the opposition under the guise of trade unions, the will of political and economic reforms manifested by word and action, sometimes even desperate efforts for the arresting of negative phenomena in the economy, protecting society from the effects of the crisis.

"What, on the other hand, is the other sides' initial position. During seven years' time no action, no gesture, no openness by the authorities—were taken up by Solidarnosc's activists. We only had various forms of protest, boycott, rejection of every idea and proposal.

"To use Jerzy Holzer's elegant formulation: Without any preliminary conditions, but in conditions as exist in reality, two sides meet at one table. Do you not see, (Mr. Holzer), a too big disequilibrium between the sides in this presumed dialogue. And—from the position of an historian—do you not think that first the other side should equalize its position. Agree with the realities, resign from total negation, take up a constructive attitude, accept what is correct and obvious while maintaining distance and criticism towards that which merits it.

Szeliga concludes: "But this is no longer our problem. At this point the letter has addresses, they will decide..."

On January 5th Government Press Spokesman Jerzy Urban commented on Holzer's letter saying, among other things: "Poland needs not so much symbolic gestures, like spectacular meetings, but rather painstaking and solid strengthening of the construction of national agreement, also through the expansion of its social and political base. Let me repeat, in the great pro-reformatory community there is room for former activists and advisors of Solidarnosc provided that they stop excluding themselves from it.

Triparty Cooperation Commission Meets

LD190008 Warsaw PAP in English
1734 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 18—A session of the Central Commission for Cooperation of the PUWP, the United Peasant Party (ZSL) and the Democratic Party (SD) was held today with the participation of the remaining signatories to the declaration on the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON). The session was attended, among others, by Wojciech Jaruzelski on the PUWP part, Roman Malinowski on the ZSL part and Tadeusz Witold Mlynczak on the SD part. Chairman of the PRON National Council Jan Dobraczynski was present.

The commission listened to a report by Foreign Minister Marian Orzechowski on the assumptions of Poland's foreign policy in 1988.

The debates stressed that the past year had brought substantial attainments and concrete achievements in all spheres of Poland's relations with abroad.

They emphasized that activities would be developed to consolidate all-round relations of friendship and cooperation with countries of the socialist community, particularly with the Soviet Union. Of great significance will be the expansion of relations with Western countries on the principles of equality and mutual benefits, and consistent actions to abolish the still remaining signs of discrimination against Poland.

The debates stressed that progressing democratization of socio-political life covers also spheres of foreign policy. The democratization implies broader participation in shaping and developing relations with abroad by all organizations, associations and social groups adhering to Poland's constitution.

The commission studied also the course and results of the official visit to Poland by FRG Foreign Minister Genscher. The commission said that the visit had been an important political event in the bilateral and international dimension. The commission voiced hope that talks and negotiations of the two governments, envisaged in the future, would lead to reaching concrete decisions and agreements making it possible to develop cooperation in economy, science, technology, culture and in other areas in a harmonious and deepened way, and to settle so far open problems in relations in keeping with the spirit and the letter of the December 7,1970 Polish-FRG treaty.

PAP Notes Council of Ministers Meeting

LD190250 Warsaw PAP in English
1816 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan. 18—At its meeting here today, the Council of Ministers adopted and sent to the parliament the final text of its own amendments to the programme of implementation of the second stage of the economic reform. The amendments contain modifications and additions introduced as a result of the social discussion. The council also adopted a timetable of its work in the first six months of 1988, specifying some 60 topics. Above all, the government will work on implementing the second stage of the reform. Development of the scientific-technological progress will also be among the more frequent topics. Questions of particular social importance, such as housing construction, health care and social welfare, will stay in the focus of attention of

the government. Under the next item of the agenda of today's meeting, the Council of Ministers passed a resolution on granting a statute to the office for religious affairs.

Central Bank President Discusses Debt
LD152045 Warsaw PAP in English
1915 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Warsaw, Jan, 15—"We will strive towards basing the banks' credit policy on a healthy currency with coverage in also healthy bank reserves," Wladyslaw Baka, the president of the National Bank of Poland (NBP), told a press conference here today. "The growth of credits cannot exceed production growth," he added.

In 1988 interest rates on credits and enterprises' reserves alike, are to be brought to a realistic level. The maximum level was set at 30 percent.

The NBP'S president also announced the consistent restructuring of the banking system. The export development bank has been operating for the last 18 months while the state PKO bank—separated from the NBP'S structure—since January 1988. The organization of a chain of commercial banks is also scheduled for 1988. These are to be created in 9 large agglomerations and will function on the self-financing principle. Also envisaged is the creation of specialized banks, as well as banks in the form of joint stock companies with foreign capital.

The NBP'S president also informed the participants about Poland's debt and problems associated with its settlement. "In 1987 we alloted 2 billion dollars to debt servicing. Despite this the debt grew from 33.5 billion dollars at the end of 1986 to 37.6 billion dollars at the end of 1987. This increase can mainly be attributed to the fall in the dollar's value. As a result our debt has increased by 2.9 billion dollars," he said. "We also owe interest to the amount of 1.5 billion dollars. Counting in deutschmarks, however, the debt has decreased from 66 billion DM at the end of 1986 to 63 billion DM at the end of 1987, that is by 5 percent. This shows the Polish economy's effort in solving this issue," Baka continued.

Answering a question to what degree the results of the referendum influenced the attitude of Poland's creditors and their evaluation of the Polish economy's ability to overcome the debt problem, Baka said that a meeting with representatives of the world's largest banks was held after the referendum to inform them about the directions of the modifications of the second stage of the economic reform. They acknowledged that these modifications would not in any significant way alter the character of cooperation with the world's financiers.

Baka also said that in the bak's opinion the inflation rate in Poland in 1987 amounted to 26-27 percent.

In reply to a question, Baka said that the problem of the convertibility of the zloty should be treated in the categories of a strategic goal. The exchange rate policy must ensure the profitability of 80 percent of exports. Thus, only 20 percent of exported goods will be subsidized, GATT regulations being observed.

Baka also added that the programme of strengthening the zloty presented by the National Bank of Poland last year was the bank's contribution to the realizational programme of the wnd stage of economic reform, while some of its elements have become components of that programme.

Olympics Athletes To Tour U.S., Canada

AU151550 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1524 GMT 15 Jan 87

["Romanian Athletes Prepare for the Olympic Games"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 15/1/1988—A group of Romanian athletes, members of the Roman Olympic selection, training for the Summer Olympic Games due in Seoul this year, will tour Canada and the U.S. in January. The first contest will take place in Hamilton (Canada). The contests will be entered by Maricica Puica, Doina Melinte and Paula Ivan.

Romanian Oil Tanker Causes North Sea Spill

AU181428 Paris AFP in English
1421 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] The Hague, Jan 18 (AFP)—A Romanian oil tanker, the "Borcea," caused the oil spill that killed tens of thousands of sea birds along the Dutch coast on January 8, Dutch Transport Minister Neelie Smit-Kroes said here Monday.

The 66,000-tonne vessel spilled 350 tonnes of oil when its hull was breached as it steamed from the Dutch port of Terneuzen to Haugesund in Norway, Mrs Smit-Kroes told a press conference.

It was not yet known how the tanker's hull was holed, although authorities here were ruling out a collision with another vessel.

Dutch investigators are looking into the case at Haugesund, where the Borcea is anchored, Mrs Smit-Kroes added.

She also said that the Dutch government was studying the possibility of declaring an economic exclusion zone in the North Sea in order control shipping more effectively.

Anniversary of Treaty With Bulgaria Noted

AU152010 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1915 GMT 15 Jan 88

["Under the Sign of Romanian-Bulgarian Friendship and Manysided Collaboration"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 15/01/1988—It is 40 years on January 16 since the signing of the first treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance between Romania and Bulgaria, a document of paramount significance in the history of the relations between the two neighbouring countries and peoples.

The Romanian-Bulgarian treaty, the first document Romania concluded after the institution of people's power, provided a framework that has favoured the expansion and deepening of manysided collaboration between the two friendly peoples in the work of building a new-type society in their counties. The implementation of the provisions under that document, which is a synthesis of the rich, traditional links between the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, between their advanced, revolutionary forces, took their relations of friendship and good neighbourliness on to a qualitatively higher level, with their bilateral collaboration on the most diverse planes having deepened and expanded sensibly.

The current image of the Romanian-Bulgarian links, which are set on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs and mutual advantage, is extremely rich and dynamic.

Economic collaboration, cooperation in production and technical-scientific cooperation have developed substantially.

The volume of bilateral commercial exchanges in the period spanning 1981-1985 alone increased more than 3.8 times over the 1976-1980 quinquennium, with the products manufactured in key branches, in mechanical engineering in particular, holding the major weight in mutual commodity deliveries. The results of the first two years of the current five-year plan period (1986-1990) rounded off that image, with the decision makers in the two countries working to implement the long-term programme for the development of economic, technical and scientific collaboration between Romania and Bulgaria until 1990 and, in a number of areas, even to the year 2000.

Conventions on cooperation in and specialization of production are being carried through, more particularly in mechanical engineering, electronics, electrical engineering, the metal industry and chemistry. Positive results have been scored in other areas of bilateral collaboration, in culture and science and in other fields of mutual interest.

Contributing greatly to the expansion of Romanian-Bulgarian ties were the meeting and talks between the party and state leaders of the two countries, Nicolae Ceausescu and Todor Zhivkov, which yielded fruitful results as concerns the continuous growth of the relations of friendship and collaboration between the two countries.

The latest meeting in Sofia (October 1987) was—the way the previous meetings had been—an opportunity to identify new projects to boost bilateral ties. In this respect, the fact is significant that the two heads of state agreed on the creation of a special Romanian-Bulgarian governmental commission to work out a programme for the continuous expansion of cooperation in and specialization of production with a view to taking the links of economic collaboration between the two countries on to a new stage.

At the same time, Romania and Bulgaria carry on a productive collaboration in the international arena taking common stances on the highly topical issues of the international political life.

Expressing deep satisfaction at the lasting links of friendship and manysided collaboration between the two neighboring and friendly countries, the Romanian people express the belief that bilateral ties will further develop strongly for the benefit of the two countries and peoples, of the cause of socialism and peace in the world.

Leaders Exchange Messages

AU152100 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 2006 GMT 15 Jan 88

["Congratulatory Telegrams Exchanged Between Party and State Leaders of Romania and Bulgaria"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 15/1/1988—On the 40th anniversary of the signing of the first treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance between Romania and Bulgaria, which contributed to a continuous deepening of the traditional friendship and collaboration between the two countries and peoples, the party and state leaders of the two countries exchanged congratulatory telegrams.

The telegram addressed by RCP General Secretary Nicolae Ceausescu, president of Romania, and the Romanian Prime Minister Constantin Dascalescu to Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, president of the State Council of the Bulgarian People's Republic, and to Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria, reads:

Dear Comrades: On behalf of the CC of the RCP, the State Council and the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania, of the Romanian people and on our own behalf, we address you, the CC of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of Bulgaria as well as the friendly Bulgarian people a warm salute of friendship and most sincere congratulations on the occasion of 40 years since the signing of the first treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance between Romania and Bulgaria.

The treaty of friendship signed on 16 January 1948 lent a qualitatively new content on the traditional relations of friendship and collaboration between the Socialist Republic of Romania and the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and took to a superior stage the collaboration between the two countries in the political, economic, technological, scientific and cultural planes as well as in the international arena.

Our party and government, the entire Romanian people appreciated highly the stage attained by the Romanian-Bulgarian collaboration and are resolved to make all efforts, in future too, so that these relations may continuously grow based on the provisions of the new treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance signed on 19 November, 1970, in the spirit of the frequent summit interviews, of the fruitful talks and decisions agreed upon, which on each occasion traced the line towards taking to ever higher levels the friendship, solidarity and collaboration between our parties, countries and peoples.

We express the conviction that by working together for the consistent implementation of the provisions of the new treaty, of the joint statements and the other understandings established at summit level, the relations of collaboration on multiple planes will grow continuously deeper, this helping the successful construction in our countries, in the advantage of the Romanian and Bulgarian peoples, in the interest of the general cause of socialism, independence, peace, detente and disarmament, understanding and collaboration among the peoples in the Balkans, in Europe and all over the world.

At the celebration of this event, dear comrades we address you wishes of further success in the implementation of the resolutions of the 13th Congress of the Bulgarian Communist Party, of prosperity and welfare to the friendly Bulgarian people.

The telegram sent by Todor Zhivkov and Georgi Atanasov reads:

Dear Comrades: On behalf of the Central Committee of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the State Council and the Council of Ministers of the Bulgarian People's Republic, of the entire Bulgarian people and on our own behalf we address you, the Central Committee of the Romanian Communist Party, the Government of the Socialist Republic of Romania and the fraternal Romanian people most cordial congratulations and friendly wishes at the 40th celebration of our countries' signing the first treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance.

The treaty of friendship, collaboration and mutual assistance signed on 16 January, 1948, laid the foundation for the new-type relations between Bulgaria and Romania. Based on this lasting foundation our countries have conducted a fruitful collaboration in all the domains of activity.

We note with profound satisfaction that in the 40 years since the signing of the treaty, bilateral relations have traversed an ascending course, gained new values and opened wide prospects to the traditional friendship between our peoples.

We express the conviction that by working together, the collaboration between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania, between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Romanian Communist Party will develop and grow richer continuously, in

the interest of our socialist future. We are convinced that the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Socialist Republic of Romania together with the USSR and the other socialist countries will contribute also in future to the cause of disarmament and peaceful coexistence, to strengthening peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe and the world over.

Dear Friends: On the occasion of our common celebration we wish you even greater successes in the implementation of the resolutions of the 13th Congress and of the National Conference of the Romanian Communist Party, for the thriving of your beautiful country and for the welfare of the fraternal Romanian people.

On the same occasion Romanian Foreign Minister Ioan Totu and his Bulgarian counterpart Petar Mladenov exchanged telegrams of congratulation.

Nicolae Ceausescu Book Published in PRC

AU141839 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1518 GMT 14 Jan 88

["A New Volume of the Series 'Ceausescu-Selected Works' in People's China"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 14/1/1988—The People's Publishing House in Beijing has put out the fifth volume of the series "Ceausescu-Selected Works." The editing of this volume on the eve of the anniversary of President Nicolae Ceausescu's birthday, of his long revolutionary activity, is a homage paid by the Chinese people to the personality of the Romanian party and state leader. The volume comprises texts selected from the theoretical oeuvre of the RCP general secretary, president of Romania, exposes and other important documents of 1984-1986. A special place is given to the report on the activity of the Romanian Communist Party in the period between the 12th and 13th congresses and to the party's activity for the attainment of the targets of socio-economic development of Romania in the 1986-1990 five-year period and, in a longer run, by 2000. The book presents the sum-up of the implementation of the resolutions of the 12th congress of Romanian Communists and of the December 1982 national conference of the party. Emphasis is also placed on the directions of Romania's socio-economic development in the current five-year period and on the orientations by 2000.

The texts are chosen from speeches made by President Nicolae Ceausescu on events of outstanding importance for the Romanian people. They show that the Romanian president has dedicated his life to the interests of the Romanian people, to the cause of socialism and communism in Romania, to the country's independence and sovereignty, as well as to the cause of international peace, understanding and collaboration.

The Romanian-Chinese relations of collaboration and friendship, relying upon mutual regard and esteem, upon the principles of national independence and sovereignty, full equality and non-interference in internal affairs, relations that have developed along the years between the two countries and peoples, are also highlighted in this selection of texts.

In a festive meeting held in Beijing on the launching of the book, the speakers highlighted in their addresses that President Nicolae Ceausescu was well-known in China, esteemed and appreciated, and his vast work and activity illustrated in the series of "Selected Works" stirred great interest.

The speakers emphasized the personality of the Romanian party and state leader, his active role in seeking out solutions for the settlement in the interests of peoples and of peace of the major international issues facing mankind. His work, inspired from Romanian realities and from international life, was shown to have substantiated the orientations of Romania's home and foreign policy.

Rui Xingwen, member of the Secretariat of the Chinese Communist Party's [CPC] CC, pointed out that President Nicolae Ceausescu's work made an important contribution to the theory of socialist construction, not only in Romania, but also the world over. The publication of the fifth volume of "Selected Works" is a symbol of the friendship and solidarity between the two parties, countries and people—the speaker showed.

Wang Renzhi, head of the Propaganda Section of the CC of the CPC, stressed the fact that the new volume made a survey of the experience gained, in recent years, by the Romanian Communist Party, by Romania in the building of the multilaterally developed socialist society and the country's advance toward communism and was an important reference work beyond Socialist Romania's frontiers. Communists, the Chinese people—he said—were highly appreciative of RCP of RCP general secretary's work and were most interested in its publication in China, given its particular theoretic and practical value for the socialist construction.

Li Qiang, chairman of the China-Romania Friendship Association, evinced the particular importance of the publication of the volume "Ceausescu-Selected Works" for a better knowledge of Romania's home and foreign policy basic lines, of President Nicolae Ceausescu's theoretic and practical activity in China.

Liu Gao, chairman of the National Department for Publications and Publishers of China, emphasized that the translation into Chinese of President Nicolae Ceausescu's work was a special event in the friendly relationships between the two parties and countries.

Zhang Huiqing, editor-in-chief of the "People's Publishing House", showed that the five volumes issued so far in People's China contained about 70 documents, reports and speeches starting in 1965, when Nicolae Ceausescu

was elected at head of the Romanian Communist Party, until 1986, referring to political, economic, technico-scientific, cultural, learning problems and international relations.

The first volumes sold fast, were in high demand and aroused much interest, which resulted in their reprint, the speaker concluded.

The festive meeting was attended by Lin Huaxuan, general secretary of the Foreign Relations Section of the CPC's CC, Wang Jifu, deputy minister of culture, Ma Qingxiong, deputy minister of radio-television and cinematography, Chen Weiren, prorector of the Central Party Academy under the CPC's CC, Ru Xin, vice-president, and Ding Weizhi, secretary-general of the Academy of Social Sciences of China, Gu Jinping, deputy director, and Bi Ke, secretary-general for scientific problems of the Institute for Printing the Works of Marxist Classics, representatives of the Chinese Foreign Ministry, and Ministry of Culture, political, cultural personalities and scientists, artists, newspapermen representing the major press and radiotelevision organs.

Next the participants visited a book show displaying the works of RCP general secretary, in Romanian and foreign languages. A pictorial show also opened featuring the Romanian people's successes in the socialist construction.

Ion Ceausescu Received by Kenyan President

AU152037 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1931 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Nairobi, AGERPRES, 15/1/1988—President Daniel Teroitich arap Moi of Kenya received Ion Ceausescu, minister secretary of state, first deputy chairman of the State Planning Committee, chairman for Romania of the Joint Romanian-Kenyan Commission on Economic and Technical Cooperation, which is holding its first session in Nairobi. On the occasion, the Kenyan president was conveyed a cordial message of salute and best wishes of good health and personal happiness, of progress and prosperity for the friendly Kenyan people from President Nicolae Ceausescu of Romania.

The president of the Republic of Kenya asked that Romania's president be conveyed sincere thanks for the message and best wishes of good health and personal happiness, of new successes for the Romanian people.

Further on 14 January PEC Meeting

AU151522 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 0942 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 15/1/1988—A meeting of the Executive Political Committee of the CC of the RCP took place on January 14 in Sinaia, under the chairmanship of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the Romanian Communist Party.

During the meeting, the Executive Political Committee analyzed the way how action was taken for the fulfilment of the plan for the first decade of January, as well as the steps for the integral fulfilment of the plan provisions for the current month and for the whole first quarter of 1988.

The reports presented by the prime minister, by first deputy prime ministers and deputy prime ministers showed that the working people in our homeland resolutely started fulfilling the plan tasks for this year, recording in a number of sectors of the national economy fine results, better than in the same period of last year. Especially these last few days, the achievements in some domains are up to the plan provisions. However, in some branches, departments and enterprises the adequate and timely settlement was not ensured, of all problems related to the proper organization and unfolding of production and, the results are therefore below possibilities.

Referring to the way action was taken in the first decade of January, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu requested that every conclusion be drawn from the activity deployed, from the analysis made in the meeting, and that firmest steps be taken immediately for the practical settlement of all problems regarding the proper organization of production, the removal of the shortcomings, the improvement of work and strengthening of discipline and order in all domains, for coping with the arrears and for the exemplary fulfilment of the plan tasks for January, for the first quarter and for the whole year.

The government, the ministries, departments and enterprises, the party bodies and organizations were instructed in this connection to work most responsibly so that in the period ahead the economic activity may be run at a higher level, on a par with the possibilities at hand, thus securing the rythmical and integral fulfilment of the plan with all sorts and with all indices. Especially, the party's general secretary stressed the need for focusing efforts chiefly on the achievement of the production for export and its delivery in due time and in terms of high quality. To that end, it was requested that all productive units ensure the utmost use of the work time and productive capacities, that instances of undiscipline, of disregard of the work program and plan discipline, of the legal provisions on the smooth run of productive activity be firmly controlled.

In the domain of investments, starting from the finding that the results in the first decade are unsatisfactory, it was requested that through organization and unfolding of building-assembly activity in very building site be ensured, so that the new projects established for this year should be commissioned in due time, should start production in planned time.

The party's general secretary assessed that every condition was at hand for the plan provisions to be integrally

fulfilled, through a best possible organization of production and work, strengthened order and responsibility in every unit and sector of activity and most efficient use of the work time.

Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu requested the party bodies and organizations, the executives of the ministries, departments and enterprises, all collectives of working people to do their utmost for the fulfilment of this year's tasks, so that 1988 may record the best results in the current five-year period, ensuring the steady implementation of the objectives established by the 13th congress and the national conference of the party.

The Executive Political Committee examined and approved the proposals regarding the setting up of the Ministry of Farm Produce Contracting and Acquisition. The newly created ministry has the task of implementing the party and state policy as regards the contracting and acquisition of plant farm produce, the setting up of the state centralized stock, the creation and preservation of state reserves of farm food produce, and the production of fodder concentrates. This ministry is the only one responsible for the contracting and acquisition of plant farm produce and animal products within its competence.

Likewise, it is responsible for the taking over, storage, conservation and capitalization, at quality standards stipulated by law, of the plant products meant for the state centralized stock and should keep a record both in its own units and in the other state and cooperative farming units.

At the same time, the Ministry of Agriculture is fully responsible for the turning out of the planned farm output by all farming units and their contracting of farm produce for the state centralized stock, for the delivery of the contracted products in time and at the set quality standards.

Next, the Executive Political Committee approved the proposals regarding the calling of the national conference of chairmen of people's councils and of county conferences of deputies to municipal, town and communal people's councils. It was decided that the conference be held on March 3-5, 1988 to debate the tasks incumbent on people's councils, in light of the decisions of the National Party Conference, of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu's orientations, in fulfilling the plan for economic and social development by territorial units for 1988 and the whole five-year period, in attaining the targets set by the Thirteenth RCP Congress. The Executive Political Committee stressed the need for the preparation of the all-country conference and of the county conferences, and their unfolding to be an opportunity for a broad debate and exchange of experience on the thorough organization of the activity of the people's councils, for the settlement of all the economic, physical planning, civic, sociocultural problems falling within their competence, for the best fulfilment of the tasks entrusted to the local state power and administration bodies.

The Executive Political Committee approved the proposals regarding Romania's participation in the fifth round of the all-European Conference in Vienna.

In full concordance with the foreign policy of our party and state, with the orientations, initiatives and demarches of Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, the delegation of our country will work, in keeping with the mandate entrusted to them, for the unfolding of the meeting in a constructive spirit, for generally acceptable solutions to the problems under debate, so that the Vienna conference should conclude with ever better results, contribute to achieving disarmament, building up confidence and security in Europe, developing cooperation in the economic, technological, scientific and other domains in Europe and all over the world.

Development of Energy Base Reviewed

AU181546 Bucharest AGERPRES in English 1023 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/1/1988—The evolution of Romanian power engineering in the years of socialist construction is telling of the dynamism of the national economy as a whole. As a matter of fact, the building of the energy base was from the very beginning laid at the foundation of the whole economic mechanism.

As early as the RCP National Conference of 1945 the development of power engineering and electrification were considered as compulsory requisites of industrial expansion. Consequently, investments in this domain have recorded fast dynamics, growing from 0.3 billion lei in 1950 to 1.2 billion lei in 1960 and 8.84 billion lei in 1965. As a result the electricity production was already 16.1 times bigger in 1965 than in 1938—the peak economic year of prewar Romania.

The ten-year plan 1966-1975 of energy base development, endorsed by the 9th Congress of the RCP brought about a genuine switch both in point of scope and of structure of the energy program. At the end of 1975, investments in power engineering had reached 19 billion lei, accounting for 14 per cent of the total investments in industry, and the power generating capacity—11.578 mw as compared with 3.258 mw in 1965. These rises were achieved in conditions of a policy of hydrocarbon-saving started even before the world energy crisis. In 1975, the share of electricity generated by coal within the total production of the branch rose up to 33.2 per cent as compared with 19.6 per cent in 1965. The policy of sparing hydrocarbons as fuel has been steadily continued. All along 1965-1985, in the structure of the burnt

energy-bearers the share of coal rose from 19.6 per cent to 33.2 per cent, that of black oil and gas oil from 5.5 per cent to 11.8 per cent, and that of gas dropped from 74.2 per cent to 53 per cent.

In the last four five-year periods, the power generating capacity of the power plants rose from 3,258 mw to 19,576 mw, and the production of electric and thermal power recorded an annual growth rate of 8.3 per cent. Essential changes occurred also in the structure of the power generating capacity. The share of the sets with big powers per unit, over 200 mw, grew permanently, resulting in a reduction of the specific consumption of conventional fuel for the generation of one kwh by 13.3 per cent in the mentioned period.

An intense development was recorded by hydro-electric power engineering. Romania's hydro-electric power potential was made use of 25 per cent at the end of the 8th decade, as compared with only one per cent in 1960. After 1965 one hundred hydro-electric plants were built. The power generating capacity of the hydroelectric plants rose almost 10 fold in that period: from 461 mw to 4,421 mw. The hydraulic resources were developed for use, through the construction in chain of the power plants on rivers. Two large hydro-electric power plants on the Danube: the Iron Gates 1 and 2, 16 plants on the Olt, 15 on the Siret, 16 on the Arges illustrate this conception about power engineering development that allowed, concomitant with the generation of electricity, also the achievement of vast irrigation works.

The master program of power engineering research and development over 1981-1990 stipulates actions following the carrying out of which Romania is to produce almost 85 times more electricity at the end of this decade than in 1938. In the current five-year period the extension and wide-scale use of solid fuels is pursued, as well as the building of new hydro-electric plants, small ones included, the development of nuclear power engineering (the nuclear power plant at Cernavoda is in an advanced stage of assembly), the use of the alternate energy resources, the cutting down of hydrocarbon consumption. The year 1990 is expected to mark an important shift in the electric power balance: The amount of electricity generated in plants working on lean coal will top for the first time the electricity generated by hydrocarbons.

Assembly Federal Chamber Adopts Budget

LD151148 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1051 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, 15 Jan (TANJUG)—The Federal Chamber of the SFRY Assembly today adopted the budget of the federation for this year. It amounts to 5,659.9 billion dinars.

The largest part of the sum—3,730 billion dinars—is earmarked for the financing of the Yugoslav People's Army; 446.7 billion dinars is allocated for the economically undeveloped republics and Kosovo; 474.5 billion for veterans pension benefits, 355.4 for army pensions; and 220.8 billion dinars for invalidity protection.

The budget provides 334.8 billion dinars for the needs of the federal organs and a further 15 billion for their technical-technological modernization.

The rest are funds for various benefits, debts from previous years, and the federation reserves.

The adoption of the budget will mean cessation of the law on the temporary financing of the federation needs, adopted at the end of last year, after the failure to reach agreement between the republics and provinces concerning the volume of the federation budget for this year.

TANJUG on Reasons for Hodza LCY Expulsion

LD122211 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1743 GMT 12 Jan 88

[Text] Pristina, January 12 (TANJUG)—Fadil Hodza, former vice-president of the Yugoslav State Presidency and one of the country's highest officials, was expelled from the League of Communists today under a unanimous decision taken by the basic organization of the League of Communists of the Presidency of Kosovo. The decision was based on conclusions of a League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee session in December last year.

At its December session, the country's highest party leadership adopted a report submitted by its commission on Fadil Hodza's responsibility. The report noted that as the most influential figure in the leadership of the Autonomous Province of Kosovo, Fadil Hodza is the most responsible for the policy which led to the escalation of Albanian chauvinism and separatism and open counter-revolutionary acts in 1968 and 1981.

The December session noted that, instead of a struggle for true national equality in the province, in which Serbs and Montenegrins live beside the majority Albanian population, Fadil Hodza pursued a policy of Albanizing this autonomous province which forms part of the Republic of Serbia.

The party commission report and the LCY Central Committee session noted that Fadil Hodza had an opportunistic and unprincipled stand towards the broad process of the Albanization of Kosovo in all areas of social life. This opened up and stimulated processes in which the basic human rights of other nationality members were grossly violated.

Among other things, open pressures were tolerated on Serbs and Montenegrins in the province. These pressures and gross violations of constitutionality and legality led to mass migrations over the years of the non-Albanian population—predominantly Serbs and Montenegrins—from the province.

Serb Presidency Secretary Relieved of Duties

LD181716 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1500 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, 18 January (TANJUG)—At today's session the Presidency of the SR of Serbia relieved Radisa Bogdanovic of his duties as general secretary of the Presidency. He was recently appointed a judge of the Serb Constitutions Court.

Stojan Karapandzic, who until now was secretary of the Council of the Republic of Serbia, has been chosen to be the new [Serb Presidency] general secretary.

Serbian Presidency Discusses Kosovo Problems

LD190144 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1504 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—All the conditions for a change of direction in the policy of economic and social development in Kosovo exist, and this could occur this year. This was the assessment which Serbian Presidency President Petar Gracanin made in his summing up of today's discussion on the current problems of the social and economic development of Kosovo at today's presidency session.

Precisely because Kosovo remains the most undeveloped part of the Republic of Serbia and of Yugoslavia as a whole, because it is still a weak spot in our economic and political system, as was stated today, the results in the development of Kosovo up to now are a serious warning for the future. For more than a quarter of a century, we have been failing to turn unfavorable development trends onto a positive path, although a large amount of resources have been invested and other privileges have been extended to Kosovo, stressed Aleksandar Mitrovic in his introductory speech. [passage omitted]

The most reliable, and probably the only way, to achieve a successful change of direction is to continue to expand the recently adopted practice of encouraging the more rapid development of Kosovo as a whole by direct self-managing association. This, it was generally assessed in the discussion, is the only reliable way to allocate resources for the more rapid development of Kosovo.

Also essential is a more serious shift in the strategy for Kosovo's development. But attention was drawn to the fact that the other republics have no interest in investing in Kosovo and that this is not a coincidence. It is because there is no legal security for investors, nor is there an economic interest in the pooling of resources. For this reason, the problems that have accumulated in the development of Kosovo over the years, in its social as well as its economic development, cannot be overcome overnight. In the opinion of those participating in the discussion, it is vital that there should be a change of direction in public opinion in Kosovo, and that people should understand that whoever is making an investment must know what he will get from this, what the economic interest is in it for him.

Both in the introductory speech and in the discussion there was mention of the high rate of population growth and the irrational development of social activities and dissatisfaction was expressed that the decision on Kosovo on the "greater affirmation of the need to plan families" is more of a well-intentioned statement than a firm planning decision.

Serbian Constitutional Changes Compared

AU141942 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 11 Jan 88 p 3

[V. Krsmanovic article: "How the Points of the Proposal to Embark on Changes in the Constitution of the SR of Serbia That Were Until Recently Disputed Have Been Changed in Comparison With the Earlier Wording: A Position More, a Problem Less"]

[Text] On 7 January, the Presidency of the SR of Serbia [SRS] decided on alterations concerning 10 points of its Constitutional Changes Proposal of July last year, which had been carried in BORBA. Since more than 5 months have passed since the erstwhile wording was adopted, and since first observations about the new wording have already been noted in the past few days, we are presenting, by way of comparison, the most important portions of the old and the new text, which chiefly contains more exact wording and additions to the original text, so that our readers could judge by themselves what innovations are at stake. Therefore, we single out 10 "directions" of the proposed changes out of a total of 48 contained in the proposed text.

Point 15: Since most attention directed at, and most disputes were concerned with Point 15, which regulates questions of all-people's defense, we present both versions on this problem in their original form:

The earlier text reads: "Proceeding from the principle of the SFRY Constitution that it is a right and a duty of the communes, autonomous provinces, republics, and other sociopolitical communities, in conformity with the national defense system, each on its own territory, to regulate and organize national defense and to lead territorial defense, civil defense, and other defense preparations, and in case of attack on our country, to organize all-people's resistance and to conduct it, it is necessary that the SRS Constitution should clearly define the right and the duty of the SRS to determine the necessary elements that ensure unity in organizing, planning, and developing the system of all-people's defense in the republic.

"The SRS Constitution should specify:

"that the plan for the defense of the republic contains questions of common interest to the republic as a whole;

"that the SRS regulates, in a unified way for the entire territory of the republic, the necessary elements of interest to the republic as a whole relating to organizing, preparing, and conducting territorial defense;

"the rights and duties of the SRS Presidency in conducting national resistance on the entire territory of the republic in case of an attack on the country.

"In implementing its constitutional functions in this field, the SRS Presidency harmonizes its positions with the presidencies of the Socialist Autonomous Provinces on: the plan for the defense of the republic in the part that contains questions of common interest to the republic as a whole; preparations for defense and for work in case of imminent danger of war or in case of war; organizing all-people's resistance and harmonizing the conducting of all-people resistance in the entire territory of the republic in war."

The new text of Point 15 reads as follows: "The SFRY Constitution determines the right and the duty of communes, autonomous provinces, republics, and other sociopolitical communities, that in conformity with the national defense system, each on its own territory, they regulate and organize national defense and lead territorial defense, civil defense, and other defense preparations, and in case of an attack on our country, that they organize all-people's resistance and conduct it.

"In conformity with such rights and duties of each sociopolitical community, it is necessary to examine through joint work, and to specify to the extent necessary, some elements in the existing constitutional provisions, and to eliminate the unclarities in these provisions which envisage: that 'the basic principles for organizing, preparing, and developing national defense, the uniform foundations of the national defense plans, and of the preparatory measures for the organization and work of state organs, associated labor organizations, and other organizations and citizens, in case of imminent danger of war and in war; the principles of organizing territorial defense and civil defense; the principles of mutual relations and conduct of territorial defense and civil defense, and the conducting of national resistance in case of an attack on our country; the principles of deployment and

mobilization of people and materials for war requirements of interest for the republic as a whole...should be regulated by republican law in a uniform way for the entire territory of the republic.'

"To the extent that it is assessed through joint work that it is necessary to introduce more precision in these elements, the content and the framework of these changes will be determined."

Point 16: In this point, which relates to public security and which has not yet been fully agreed upon, the earlier version insisted that the necessary powers and obligations of the republic, or its organs, primarily the SRS Presidency, in the field of social and public security should be specified. It was also requested that the constitutional powers of the republic should be specified, so that it may ensure the unity of the system protecting the order as established the Constitution, which is of interest to the republic as a whole.

The new version of the proposal says that it is necessary "to examine through joint work and to specify to the extent necessary" some elements in the existing constitutional solutions so that ambiguities in them may be eliminated. A completely new provision is inserted: "To the extent that it is assessed through joint work that certain matters in these elements should be rendered more precise, the content and the framework of these changes will be determined."

Points 17, 18, and 19: These points on legal protection and the function of the public prosecutor have been insignificantly changed, while Point 19 on international cooperation instead of saying "it is necessary to determine certain rights and duties of the republic in implementing international cooperation," in the new text reads as follows: "It is necessary to examine through joint work, and to determine to the extent necessary, some joint interests of the republic in implementing international cooperation, and to the extent that it is determined, to specify the content and the size of these changes."

Point 21: The first two passages of Point 21 are exactly the same. The earlier version of this point contained another passage which read: "It is necessary that the SRS Constitution should work out in more detail the responsibility of the republic for additional measures for an accelerated economic and overall development of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo as a pronouncedly underdeveloped part of the SRS and the SFRY."

The new version adds a passage which says that "the development and economic policy of joint interest to the republic as a whole is determined in the republic's social plan on the basis of the accord concluded by the SRS Assembly and the assemblies of the socialist autonomous provinces, the Chamber of Economy of Serbia and the provincial chambers of economy, as well as associated labor organizations that undertake certain obligations under these accords." The new text also says that the republic's social plan must be harmonized with the accords on the development and economic policy of joint interest implemented in the republic as a whole.

Points 22, 25, and 26: While Points 22 and 25 remained completely the same in both versions, Point 26 has been reworded so that instead of reading "In conformity with the premises expounded in other points of the proposal, it is necessary to specify the constitutional provisions about the powers of the SRS Presidency," it now reads: "To specify the rights and duties of the SRS Presidency which it carries out in the entire territory of the republic in conformity with the rights and duties that are being implemented in the entire territory of the republic."

Point 27: Instead of the previous wording of Point 27, "The legislative powers of the republic should be supplemented by the following powers: protection of land from pollution, protection of life and health of people from contagious diseases, as well as the determination of cultural goods of exceptional significance for the republic," the new version says that it is necessary "to examine the need whether, and under what conditions, the legislative powers of the republic should be supplemented in certain cases," such as protection from pollution, the health of the people, and cultural goods.

Bosnia-Hercegovina Issues Communique

LD161125 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2018 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Sarajevo, 15 Jan (TANJUG)—Internal enemies are trying to use the current difficulties and weaknesses in the economic and political life of the republic to spread their antisocialist ideas and standpoints, in the belief that under these conditions their influence will have the greatest effects. Their activity is oriented toward provoking the dissatisfaction of working people and citizens, casting doubt on the possibility of finding a way out of the difficulties in which we now find ourselves. On this basis, the LC and the system of socialist self-management and one or two of its institutions are blamed for the intensification of the crisis situation in the country.

This is stated in this evening's communique from the presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina which considered information about current questions of the political security situation in the republic.

The Presidency pointed out the need for taking further measurs to ensure the more rapid and effective solution of the present problems, to find a way out of the difficulties, and in particular remove the subjective weaknesses with which we are burdened. In this respect it is of exceptional importance that all figures in the system perform their legal obligations in a responsible and effective way, that the full constitutionality and legality of work in the republic is ensured, and on this

basis, that the trust of working people and citizens in the figures of the system and the system of socialist self-management as a whole is strengthened.

The activity of the subjects of social self-protection, and especially the security service, have facilitated both the greater expression of the initiatives of working people and citizens and the general development and strengthening of the culture of security. The security services have tailored the organization of their work to security problems and the need to further socialize the affairs of security, protection, and functional unity. In this way, even more favorable conditions have been created for putting a timely stop to various forms of hostile and other criminal activity, above all by sociopolitical action and preventive measures, while repressive measures are applied only in cases where all the regulations and legal conditions require them to be applied.

Note was made in particular of the importance of the organized activity of the organs of internal affairs and the security services in terms of strengthening constitutionality, legality, and responsibility in their work, expert and ideopolitical training, and full responsibility for work in the framework of their legal authority. The regular and timely provision of information to the competent sociopolitical bodies and institutions of the system of delegate assemblies and the public at large about the work of, and the situation in, the security organs and services facilitates a constant and complete insight into, and control over, their work, something which certainly, in the period ahead, should be further developed and strengthened.

Despite tough resistance and even attacks by alienated centers of power and technobureaucratic arbirariness, the security services have, in a responsible and resolute manner and in the framework of their legal authority, continued persistently to carry out their constitutional and legal duties and obligations. It should constantly be borne in mind that there are individuals and groups who think that the situation in Bosnia-Hercegovina should now be exploited for a frontal attack on all leading bodies and cadres for the impementation of their own, in essence, antiself-management and antisocialist wishes and ambitions. These forces want the enormous efforts of the working people and citizens for overcoming the current problems and for further democratizing society to be channelled in the opposite direction.

The process of democratizing and strengthening legality and responsibility is weakening the position of antiself-management and antisocialist forces who want to frustrate the decisive steps of our society toward finding a way out of the crisis and abuse and slow down the further democratization of society. All those who do not like this, direct their activity against the organized socialist forces of our society and the security services. These forces seek any kind of reason and opportunity to attack these services and disseminate various crude lies, half-truths, insinuations, and accusations aimed at the organs of internal affairs and the security services. A specific role in this is played by one or two of the public information media which, through their so-called selection and dissemination of assertions, which are not checked, accept much of what is dished out to them from various sources, which causes great damage both to society and to their own reputation, the communique says.

The Presidency of the SR of Bosnia-Hercegovina assesses that in individual cases this is a matter of premeditated provocation and attempts to organize temporary campaigns directed not only at the security services but also at the whole system of social self-protection, with the clear aim of provoking suspicion and a bad disposition among working people and citizens toward the sociopolitical system of socialist self-management.

The Presidency believes that it is essential to oppose, in an organized and determined way, all attempts to attack the security services and member of them. Above all, it is necessary to further create favorable conditions for the functioning of the overall system of social self-protection and for the work of the security services, by examining their work regularly and constantly increasing the degree of the socialization of their activity.

Assembly President Holds Talks in Macedonia

LD190138 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1431 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Excerpts] Skopje, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—Marjan Rozic, president of the SFRY Assembly, today had talks with the officials in the Macedonian Assembly about the socioeconomic situation in the republic and efforts to improve the efficiency of the delegate system in the assemblies. Macedonian Assembly President Vulnet Starova and Gligorije Gogovski, president of the republic's executive council, spoke about problems facing Macedonia as well as the republic's efforts to pull out of the present crisis by relying on its own forces. [passage omitted]

Speaking about intra-national relations in Macedonia, Starova said that efforts had been stepped up to fight Albanian nationalism and separatism in some parts of the republic. In some parts of the country outside Macedonia, there is not enough understanding for our efforts and activities, Starova said, adding that these activities were to enhance brotherhood and unity, implementing SFRY Assembly decisions as well as the conclusion of the party sessions.

Starova devoted a greater part of his discussion to relations between Yugoslavia, and in the same framework of Macedonia, with its neighbors Bulgaria, Greece, and Albania. He said that we are still confronted with attempts to deny and question the existence of both the Macedonian nation and state on the part of some of our

neighbors and also by refusals to recognize Macedonian national minorities. All this is having an effect on the mood and political situation in the country.

In the realization of our relations and cooperation with the neighbors, Starova said, there is a pressing need for defining our priority interests and activities at the federal level and on long-term basis and with coordinated and concerted efforts by all the factors of our foreign policy.

Taking part in the talks, Marjan Rozic, president of the SFRY Presidency, stressed that the results of Macedonia's efforts to increase production, exports, and employment were encouraging. All your efforts are in line with the Anti-Inflation Program and this year's development resolution. [passage omitted]

Exports Up 17.6 Percent Over 1986 Levels

LD151802 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1515 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, January 15 (TANJUG)—Yugoslav exports to the hard-currency market reached the value of 8 billion 526 million dollars last year, or 17.6 percent more than in 1986, the Yugoslav Statistics Bureau Stated today. Due to the growth, exports to the convertible region accounted for three-fourths of the country's overall exports valued at 11 billion 425 million dollars. Overall Yugoslav exports grew 5.3 percent. Exports to the clearing markets stood at 2 billion 899 million dollars last year, and were 19.5 percent lower than in 1986.

Overall Yugoslav imports valued 12 billion 603 million dollars, or 2.4 percent less than in 1986.

The Yugoslav deficit in world trade stood at one billion 178 million dollars. The Federal Republic of Germany, Yugoslavia's major foreign-trade partner in the West, accounts for 924 million dollars.

Industrial production in Yugoslavia grew 0.6 percent last year, the highest growth of 19.5 percent being recorded in ship-building. Industrial production fell in nineteen of a total of 37 economic branches—the steepest fall of 12.5 percent was recorded in coal processing.

According to official statistics, inflation stood at 167.4 percent last year.

Yugoslavs crossed the border 18 million 600 thousand times in 1987, or 13 percent times more than in 1986, figures of the Yugoslav Internal Affairs Secretariat indicate.

Slovene TU Council Adopts 'Strike Code'

LD181801 Zagreb Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1400 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] The Presidium of the Republican Council of Slovene Trade Unions today gave the green light for public debate on the first draft of regulations allowing strike action, and on the tasks of the trade unions in such actions. Our correspondent Dragoslav Kosaric reports:

The recent wave of strikes in Slovenia and Yugoslavia, and the open demands of the workers that the trade unions should be in the van of workers' demands has resulted in the Slovene trade unions making a bold move forward. They have penetrated the hard bulwark that until recently surrounded this taboo topic, and in presenting a theoretical draft of strike rules they have moved into the concrete action of legalizing the strikes as a form, as they put it, of a constructive pressure to change the existing state of affairs.

According to the proposed regulations, explained by Dusan Rebolj, member of the Presidium of the Republican Council of the Slovene Trade Unions, a strike will be led by the trade union organization in the basic organization of associated labor. The policy of the trade unions must be an open policy of the workers. The first important point in tackling the workers' demands is to set up a strikers' committee in which the workers have an opportunity to fully express their views.

According to the first draft of the strike code, a copy of this organ must be present in the Workers' Council. The regulations also say, among other things, that the moment a strikers' committee has been set up and all condition sleading up to the strike have been fulfilled, not one of the organizers may become subject to any punishment or disciplinary sanctions provided he abided by the rights and duties stemming from the strike code.

With regard to workers' demands for higher personal incomes—this is one of the first demands presented by workers in strikes—it is envisaged that the trade unions should have an assessment of their own of the demands of the workers because one must not and cannot allow funds to be distributed over and above the realistically earned revenue in a basic organization of associated labor. In the final analysis, to do this would be catastrophic for a work organization.

According to new regulations, the leading structures of the trade unions are to play an entirely different role. For instance, if a strike were to go beyond the factory gate, the municipal trade union council will be under instructions to ask the Presidium of Slovene Trade Unions to be present at the strike.

Public debates on these proposals will be held until March this year.

Limka Footwear Factory Workers Stop Work
LD182112 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1759 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Excerpt] Prijepolje, 18 Jan (TANJUG)—Over 600 workers of the Limka footwear factory of Prijepolje took part in a work stoppage today. The immediate reason was dissatisfaction with the December personal incomes while the causes behind the work stoppage lie in the pay distribution regulations which, according to the workers, fail properly to evaluate production labor. [passage omitted]

20 Charged With Totovo Uzice Embezzlement
LD152020 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1612 GMT 15 Jan 88

[Text] Titovo Uzice, 15 Jan (TANJUG)—The Titovo Uzice District Public Prosecutor's Office has brought charges against 20 people from Titovo Uzice, Belgrade, Cacak, Zvornik, Brcko, and other places involved in large-scale embezzlement in the Jelova Gora work organization in Totovo Uzice, which has lost more than 300 million dinars. The accused include the ringleader and initiator of this embezzlement, Blagoje Mirosavljevic, 53, from Lunovo Selo, the former officer in charge of purchasing in the Jelova Gora work organization and later an official at the Tito Uzice office of the Belgrade agro-industrial company.

Also accused are the former director of the Jelova Gora work organization, Slavko Lazic; Ilija Princip, an economist and the former head of the Emona branch in Brcko; Stevan Pulic, the director of the Prokupac basic organization of associated labor in Belgrade; Salih Mehmedovic, the director of the Kojozak basic organization of cooperative workers in Kozluk; and Ahmet Bojic, director of the Agrosad basic organization of cooperative workers in Zvornik.

Most of those accused and their work organizations were involved in impermissible machinations over the purchase of bilberries and other fruit purchased from imaginary producers; and, by falsifying documents, the Jelova Gora work organization made illegal profits. A number of the accused in this group later acquired significant illegal property. Until the trial, in which there is great interest, seven of the accused, who were joined today by the accused Milanko Kosanin, the officer in charge of purchasing for the Usce Farmers' cooperative in Usce, remained in detention. After the charges were brought Slavko Lazic, Ljubinko Vasiljevic, Jelena Udovicic, Bogoljub Lazic, and Brane Radovic were released from detention in a decision by the district court and will be free until the trial begins.

Earth Tremor Registered South of Belgrade
LD180016 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 2225 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Jan (TANJUG)—At 2107 GMT this evening the instruments of the Seismological Institute of Serbia registered an earth tremor 140 kilometers south of Belgrade. The tremor's magnitude measured 3.5 units on the Richter scale and intensity between 4.5 and 5 degrees on the Mercalli scale.

According to initial reports, no material damage was caused. The tremor was felt in Kraljevo and Brus.

Report Bomber Got Bomb in SFRY 'Fabrications'
LD152052 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1900 GMT 15 Jan 87

[Text] Beijing, Jan. 15 (TANJUG)—The DPR of Korea Embassy in Beijing has rejected as "sheer fabrications" Seoul's accusations that the DPR of Korea was behind the bomb explosion on board a South Korean airliner last November, in which 115 passengers and crew were killed.

The denial followed today's announcement in Seoul that a woman suspected of involvement in the attack on the South Korean airliner had allegedly confessed to having acted on instructions from Pyongyang.

The DPR of Korea Embassy insisted that its country had nothing to do with the crash of the South Korean Airlines (KAL) plane.

The embassy said that the attack on the South Korean plane was most likely part of internal reckonings in South Korea and could have been the work of a South Korean opposition group.

News agency reports from Seoul today claim that Kim Hyon-Hui said she had gotten the explosives at the D.P.R. Korea Embassy in Belgrade.

The competent security organs in Belgrade said Belgrade airport was equipped with the latest explosive-detection units and that all hand luggage was checked prior to boarding.

According to the South Korean security service, the two attackers, carrying Japanese passports, left Pyongyang for Moscow on November 12 and travelled to Budapest, Vienna and Belgrade before arriving in Baghdad on November 28.

The KAL Baghdad-Seoul flight they boarded in Baghdad had 115 passengers on board.

Group of Albanians Escapes Near Titograd
LD171826 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1747 GMT 17 Jan 88

[Text] Titograd, 17 Jan (TANJUG)—According to a statement by the Republican Secretariat for Internal Affairs, the Montenegro Republican Committee for Information today reported that yesterday, 16 January,

during the afternoon, on the Albanian-Yugoslav border, a group of Albanian citizens, which included children, escaped into Yugoslavia at the Bozaj border crossing near Titograd.

The Albanian citizens escaped in a goods vehicle of Albanian registration by breaking through the Albanian border barrier and entering the territory of the SFRY.

The responsible organs have instigated an investigation and have taken measures in keeping with legal regulations and with the international obligations of the SFRY.

War Criminal Artukovic Dies 16 Jan
LD182210 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1708 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Zagreb, Jan 18 (TANJUG)—Convicted war criminal Andrija Artukovic (89) died of illness, it was learned here today.

Artukovic, who collaborated with the Nazis during the second world war, was found guilty of the deaths of 700,000 persons—Serbs, Jews, Gypsies and Croats, the Yugoslav nation he himself belonged to.

He was sentenced to death by the Zagreb District Court in May 1986. The execution of the sentence was postponed because of his poor health. He died on January 16 in the prison hospital.

Earlier, the court in Los Angeles, U.S.A., decided to extradite Artukovic to Yugoslavia for murders he committed personally during the war as interior minister of the Nazi puppet "Independent State of Croatia" and for other crimes against humanity.

The district attorney in Zagreb decided that the body of Artukovic, known as the "Balkan Himmler" and "minister of death", would be treated "in compliance with the instructions on the execution of death penalty."

This practically means that Artukovic will have no grave.

Agriculture Minister Leaves for Moscow
AU181900 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 1800 GMT 18 Jan 88

[Text] Sava Vujkov, member of the FEC and president of the Federal Committee for Agriculture, has left for Moscow where he will attend the meeting of the CEMA Committee for Agro-Industrial Complex.

PCI's Napolitano Ends Visit To Belgrade
AU171650 Belgrade BORBA in Serbo-Croatian 9-10 Jan 88 p 8

[Text] Belgrade, 8 Jan (TANJUG)—Giorgio Napolitano, member of the Secretariat of the PCI Central Committee, who had been visiting Yugoslavia at the invitation of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, today left Belgrade.

Before his departure, Napolitano was received by Stane Dolanc, member of the SFRY Presidency. They discussed relations between Yugoslavia and Italy, and other international issues.

Vasil Tupurkovski, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, held final talks with Napolitano. They discussed the ways of how to further improve relations between the LCY and the PCI, which represents an important factor in the overall good-neighborly relations between the two countries.